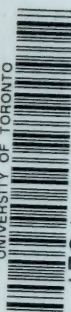


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THE BOOK OF THE FOUNDATIONS  
OF S. TERESA

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EDWARDUS MYERS  
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**Imprimatur**

EDM : CAN : SURMONT  
*Vic. Gen.*

WESTMONASTERII,  
*die 24 Januarii 1913.*

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# THE BOOK OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF S. TERESA OF JESUS

OF THE ORDER OF OUR LADY OF CARMEL

WITH THE VISITATION OF NUNNERIES,  
THE RULE AND CONSTITUTIONS

WRITTEN BY HERSELF

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH BY

DAVID LEWIS

NEW AND REVISED EDITION WITH INTRODUCTION BY  
VERY REV. BENEDICT ZIMMERMAN

DISCALCED CARMELITE

DECOR CARMELI ET SARON

164633.  
9.9.21.

LONDON  
THOMAS BAKER  
MCMXIII





EDINBURGH : J. C. THOMSON  
AT THE MERCAT PRESS

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## INTRODUCTION

WHEN S. Teresa had taken possession and founded the first monastery of her nuns in Avila, 24th August 1562, she was summoned back to the monastery of the Incarnation, where she had made her profession, for that monastery was thrown into trouble by the act of the Saint, and the nuns were very angry with her. She was made to give an account of her conduct, and the provincial was sent for, before whom she had to make what defence she could : that defence she made in the presence of the nuns her sisters, and so successfully that no one was found to blame her. When she had appeased her sisters, she had to meet other troubles : the people of Avila had been also disturbed, and a new house of religion seemed for the moment to be an offence to them. The magistrates of the city resolved to suppress the monastery, but on finding that it was lawfully established with the consent of the bishop they had recourse to the courts of law. But out of all their efforts nothing came, and the Saint, with the consent of the provincial, left the monastery of the Incarnation, and joined her sisters in the new house of S. Joseph.

She went to that house, according to the chronicle of the order, before the end of the year ; but Ribera says, and his account is more likely to be true, that she did not return before the middle of Lent 1563. Fray Francisco de Santa Maria, the chronicler, rests his statement that she went back in December on the expression in the Prologue to the *Foundations*, ‘ In the year 1562—the very year in which this house of S. Joseph in Avila was founded—I was ordered, when in that house, by my confessor, the Dominican friar, father Garcia of Toledo, to write the history of the foundation of the monastery.’ He

says that Fray Garcia could not have given her the commandment to write before she returned to the Incarnation, because she was summoned thither at once, and was not allowed to remain the whole day in S. Joseph's: she must therefore, he says, have left the Incarnation after the summons, and returned to S. Joseph's before the end of the year.

If it was impossible for Fray Garcia to speak to her on the day of the foundation, there is no difficulty in supposing that he had spoken to her frequently during the time she was staying in that house and making it fit for a monastery. He may have told her to write the history even before the day of the foundation, for he knew what a work it was, and had read the history of her life, which she had prepared for Fray Pedro Ibañez, her confessor.

But, be that as it may, it was during the first year of her stay in S. Joseph's that she was ordered by Fray Garcia of Toledo to write the history of its foundation. It is to Fray Garcia, and to the inquisitor Don Francisco de Soto y Salazar, afterwards bishop of Salamanca, whom at this time she consulted, that we are indebted for the history of her life as we have it at present.<sup>1</sup> After re-writing her *Life* she was busy with her treatise on the *Way of Perfection*, which was written at the commandment of Father Bañes, her confessor, and throughout her life her constant friend: that was meant for the use of her own nuns of S. Joseph's, and has only lately been published as she first wrote it. It seems, then, that these two books, with the constitutions of the nuns, were written by her during her rest in her monastery—in 'the most tranquil years of my life,' as she says in the first chapter of the *Foundations*.

In the year 1560, while still in the monastery of the Incarnation, the Saint made a vow always to do that which was most perfect and to the greater glory of God.

<sup>1</sup> See *Relation* vii. 8, 9, at the end of the *Life*.

Father Ribera<sup>2</sup> says he never heard of any saint who had made such a vow. Her confessors in 1565, Fray Garcia and Fray Antonio de Heredia, Carmelite and prior of Avila, considering that the vow thus general was a possible source of scruples, recommended her to apply to the provincial, Fray Angel de Salazar, to make it void, and allow her to renew it in another form which should be less an occasion of scruples than the form in which she had so heroically made it. The Saint, always obedient to her confessors, made the application at once, and Fray Angel, then in Toledo, issued his commission in this form :

‘Fray Angel de Salazar, provincial of the province of Castille, of the order of our Lady of Carmel, etc.

‘By this present writing we authorise and appoint the most reverend the father prior of our house of Carmel in Avila, and the most reverend Fray Garcia of Toledo of the order of S. Dominic, and either of them, having first administered the sacrament of penance and confession to our most dearly beloved sister Teresa of Jesus, mother of the nuns of S. Joseph’s, to release her from any vow she may have made, or to commute it as to them it shall seem best for the service of our Lord, and for the quieting of the conscience of our sister aforesaid. We grant them hereby our authority, and the power we possess in virtue of our office and ministry. Done in Toledo, 2nd March 1565.

‘FRAY ANGEL DE SALAZAR.’

The Saint, having received the sanction of the provincial, gave his letter to Fray Garcia, who executed his commission, and on the back of the letter wrote thus :—

‘I have heard your confession, according to the directions of the father provincial herein contained, and for the peace and quiet of your conscience and of that of

<sup>2</sup> Bk. iv. ch. 10.



your confessors—which is one and the same thing—I make void and of none effect the vow you have made, *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.* Amen.’

Fray Garcia having released her from the obligations of her vow, the Saint was at liberty to renew it in another form, but subject to three conditions necessary to its validity. The Saint when in doubt was to consult her confessor, and having done so was to follow his advice, in order to avoid all scruples on his part as well as on hers. The vow, therefore, was binding on her under these three conditions, and not otherwise :—The first, the fact of the vow was to be made known to the confessor ; the second, she was to ask his direction ; the third, he was to tell what was the more perfect course. She also made another vow, that of perfect obedience to Fray Jerome of the Mother of God. This she did about ten years after the commutation of her great vow by Fray Garcia, when she was on her way to Seville to make the foundation there.

In the fourth year of her residence in the monastery of S. Joseph, the general of the order, Fra Giovanni Battista Rossi [Rubeo] arrived in Spain. The sovereign pontiff at the request of the king, Don Philip II, had commanded him to make his visitation. The general was a man of great sanctity and simplicity, humble and generous, but his friars were not all like himself ; the fathers in Andalusia especially were wedded to their lax observances, and made more or less resistance to his decrees ; they also spread abroad certain stories, probably of his excessive severity, which were carried to the king, who, believing what he was told, conceived a dislike to the general, and even showed his displeasure. The general, however, persevered, and did all he could do for the reform of his order ; but he seems to have had but little hopes of the province of Andalusia, and would not allow S. Teresa to found monasteries in it.

S. Teresa in her monastery was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Avila, and the general of her order, because of the provincial's refusal to accept it, therefore had no right to intermeddle in her affairs, and those of her nuns, though they were Carmelites and observed the rule. But the Saint never intended to withdraw from under the authority of the general, and her present position, though brought about by most lawful means, was a position which she would have avoided with her whole heart if she had understood the effects of what had been done for the foundation of her monastery. So when she heard of the general's arrival she began to be afraid she might have been ordered back to her old home, or cut off from the order, for she had founded her house without the consent of her immediate superiors, and had placed it under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese. She met her difficulties at once, and in the simplest way: with the permission of the bishop, who was her superior, she invited the general to visit her, and on his arriving received him as if she were still his subject. The bishop had most generously waived his rights in favour of the general, who was received in all honour as if he were the superior of the house of S. Joseph.

As usual, she was frank and open with the general, and made known to him the whole history of the foundation, and at the same time her own inner life. The general was pleased exceedingly, but none the less sorry that such a nun was no longer his subject. The order of the house and the piety of the community filled his soul with joy, but the house was not his, and he could not hide his sorrow.

The general found no fault with the Saint, however, but he was very angry with the provincial, whose faint-heartedness had robbed the order of such a house. Two nuns had left the monastery of the Incarnation with S. Teresa, and the three, being his subjects, had become subjects of the bishop, but without his knowledge and

without his leave. It was a pain to the good man, and he asked for the brief by which the transfer of obedience had been made. This was shown him at once, and he on reading it saw that it did not touch his authority as general and visitor apostolic. He did not regard it as binding on him, nor was it, for none of the superiors of the order had been called to consent or object to the transfer of the Saint's obedience. Her vow still subsisted, and so he told the Saint that she was still his subject, and that he had power to receive her back into the order if she wished to return. The Saint most joyfully accepted the offer, for she had never intended to leave it, and was received back, the general comforting her at the same time by saying that he would never force her to return to the monastery of the Incarnation, where the observance had become lax ; and that none in authority under him should, as her immediate superiors, be allowed to do so at any time.

The general was glad when he recovered the Saint, but the bishop of Avila was extremely displeased, and spoke in some anger about the change. As he had been so good a friend, and had consented to the foundation when her own provincial had refused it, she felt that her act bore the semblance of ingratitude. She was therefore deeply distressed, and the pain of the bishop's displeasure was very keen. In a little time, however, the bishop, seeing her distress and humility, and considering also that under the circumstances she could hardly have done otherwise, was pacified, and continued from that day forth to befriend her and the order in every way he could, and to the utmost of his power. The general made many visits to the monastery of S. Joseph, and discussed grave affairs of the order with the Saint. She herself, burning with the love of souls, made known to him her chief desire—the foundation of a house where the friars should live under the primitive rule. The general would have been glad to see such a house



established, but he saw the difficulties before him in the opposition of his subjects, and counselled delay. He did not refuse his consent absolutely, nor would he allow the reform to proceed without conditions: accordingly, to satisfy the Saint, he gave her leave to found monasteries of nuns, but subject to the order. This was a matter, it seems, of which S. Teresa had never thought: she had never intended to do more than found her own house, wherein she could sanctify herself in the strict observance of the primitive rule. But she gladly accepted the permission, though, as she says, 'I did not ask for it,' and saw in that permission the way to obtain what at the time she had more at heart—the foundation of monasteries of friars keeping the primitive rule.

The first commission given her was dated 27th April 1567. She was authorised to found monasteries of nuns in the kingdom of Castille, and might take any two sisters willing to go from the Incarnation for each of them. This done the general left Avila for Madrid, and thence on 16th May sent the Saint another letter in explanation of the first. Doubts, he said, might be raised about the words 'kingdom of Castille,' which means either Old or New Castille. To remove all difficulties, the general said that by the 'kingdom of Castille' he meant both the Old and the New, and that the Saint was to be allowed to make foundations wherever she pleased within the borders of that kingdom: the only restraint upon her was that the monasteries must be all under the obedience of the order, and no foundations must be made in Andalucia.

Though the general went away from Avila without giving his assent to the petition of S. Teresa, as she wished it to be done—for he seems to have done no more than promise to do so—she was not discouraged, and by letter earnestly begged of him to found a house of reformed friars. This letter was delivered to him when he was in Valencia; on 14th August he wrote from Barcelona authorising S. Teresa to found two

monasteries of friars wherein the primitive rule should be observed as it was in her own monastery of S. Joseph in Avila.

The Saint received the licence of the general when she was in Medina del Campo, making the foundation there, and 'always thinking of monasteries of friars' (ch. iii. 15). But in thus thinking she was not alone : there were two friars of her order in Medina at the time to whom God had granted the same desires, and who, like herself, did not know how to carry them into effect—Fray Antonio de Heredia, no longer young, and Fray Juan of S. Mathias, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and newly made priest. The former she was acquainted with already, for he was prior of the Carmelite house in Avila when she was living in S. Joseph's. He too had been called to a stricter life than was that then lived by his brethren, and had serious thoughts of leaving the order and becoming a Carthusian. The Saint dissuaded him from this, and on his yielding to her requests asked him to wait awhile, and test himself by leading a stricter life among his brethren according to the primitive rule ; for, though she was glad to find even one friar who gave promise of better things, she had not much confidence in Fray Antonio, who had grown old in the order, and was, she feared, unequal to the austerities which she intended to revive.

Fray Antonio took the advice of the Saint, and began to make trial of the new life which he was afterwards to live. The bodily austerities were probably not the least of his trials : his brethren, knowing the resolution he had taken, began to torment him : they said he was about to insult the whole order that he might make himself a name ; that he wished to bring in novelties and disturb the friars as mother Teresa had disturbed the nuns ; that he was seeking worldly advancement—he who never merited any in his own order ; that he made a pretence of zeal for selfish ends, and was despising others who were

better than he was; that he was setting himself up against his superiors, who never thought of doing what he was purposing to do, and who were far wiser than he. Fray Antonio nevertheless persevered, and bore all contradiction in peace, and 'the persecution of evil tongues' (ch. iii. 15) never shook his good resolution.

The other friar was Fray Juan of S. Mathias, afterwards and now known as S. John of the Cross. He had been received into the order in the house of S. Anne in Medina del Campo in the year 1563, when he was about twenty-one years of age, and had made his profession in the same house in 1564, Fray Angel de Salazar being the provincial. In the course of the latter year he was sent to the Carmelite college in Salamanca, then known as the College of S. Andrew the Apostle, but afterwards as the College of S. Teresa. Having there finished his course of theology, and being of the age of twenty-five, he was ordained priest. His superiors sent him back to the house of the order in Medina, where he had been professed, to sing his first mass, partly for the sake of giving pleasure to his mother, who was a widow, and he was there when S. Teresa was occupied with her own foundation of the monastery of her nuns.

He had come to Medina del Campo with another friar, Pedro de Orozco, through whom S. Teresa heard of him, and of his longing to become a Carthusian; for he too had the same wish as Fray Antonio, and had not kept it a secret from his companion. Fray Pedro, knowing that S. Teresa wished to have houses of friars who observed the primitive rule, went to her and spoke of his companion Fray Juan. The Saint was so much pleased with the account of him given her by Fray Pedro that she longed to see him, being fully persuaded that he was the very man whom our Lord had destined for her work. She spent the night in prayer, earnestly beseeching our Lord to give her Fray Juan, like Rachel who prayed for children.

Fray Pedro asked his companion to visit the Saint in her monastery, but to no purpose, for he would not converse with women if he could avoid it. By dint of importunity, however, Fray Pedro prevailed at last and the visit was made. It resulted in Fray Juan's promising to begin the reform, provided the Saint made no long delay, for he was bent at the time on making himself a Carthusian at the first opportunity.

S. Teresa now felt that her work was safe, for she had two friars, or, as she said, a friar and a half, for Fray Antonio was a portly personage, while S. John of the Cross was thin and low of stature.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, in about twelve months from that time the first of the two houses which the general had authorised her to found was begun, in great poverty, in Duruelo, the first conventual mass being said there on the first Sunday in Advent 1568, and three monasteries of nuns, subject to the general of the order, having been then founded—Medina del Campo,

<sup>3</sup> This is the usually accepted interpretation of S. Teresa's saying, but there is good reason to think that the 'whole friar' alluded to was S. John of the Cross of whom she could say, as was said of David, *Inveni virum secundum cor meum* (Acts xiii. 23), whereas Antonio de Heredia was, in her mind, only 'half a friar,' for notwithstanding his determination she did not quite believe in his perseverance, partly on account of his delicate health, but more still because he seemed to be lacking in energy. In this point she was fortunately mistaken, as the event showed. This view, recorded by Fray Manuel de Santa Maria, is based upon the depositions of the nuns of Medina del Campo, and has been accepted by Fr. Gerardo de San Juan de la Cruz in the critical edition of the works of S. John of the Cross (Burgos, 1912, t. i, *Vida del Místico Doctor*, p. 40, note 1). In the same work it is stated that Fray José de Cristo, (ch. xiv, 5 and 6) was not a lay-brother but a deacon (*Ibid.* p. 36, n. 1) and further, that the real day of the first mass at Duruelo, and consequently the date of the foundation of that convent was, not the 28th of November, but Tuesday the 30th, feast of S. Andrew. This is the date given in the depositions in the process of beatification of S. John of the Cross at Medina (*Ibid.* p. 47, note). Father Gerardo suggests that the 28th may have been the date of the arrival of Antonio de Heredia. Chapter xiv. of the *Book of Foundations* was already in type when this new and important work reached the present writer.

Malagon and Valladolid. The first house of S. Teresa, S. Joseph's in Avila, was not subject to the order, though the Saint herself was, but to the bishop of the diocese, Don Alvaro de Mendoza.

S. Teresa seems to have proceeded with as much care and caution as were possible in this foundation of Duruelo, in order to avoid any difficulties that the friars might make, who were not disposed to accept her reform. The latter at first were probably more or less indifferent, and perhaps somewhat blind, to the results to be naturally expected from the lowly beginnings made in Duruelo. None of them seem to have been disturbed, for the general in Rome had not heard of the foundation in the beginning of February 1569. On the 8th of that month and year the father-general wrote a letter to the nuns of Medina del Campo, in which, after saying of S. Teresa that she 'is doing more for the order than all the friars in Spain,' he asks for information about the two monasteries of men, and would be glad to hear that they had been founded.<sup>4</sup>

The second of the two houses was, however, founded in the course of the year, on 13th July, in Pastrana.

S. Teresa, having founded the two houses of friars according to the permission of the general, gives no account herself of the other houses which were founded afterwards, and which were thirteen in number. She had probably less to do with them than with the monasteries of nuns, though she was not unconcerned in them. She founded and directed seventeen monasteries of nuns in the course of twenty years, yet of those years five years all but nine days were spent tranquilly in her first monastery of S. Joseph in Avila, and for four years and nearly two months besides her work was hindered by the troubles of the order, and very nearly so before that by her being compelled to accept the government of the monastery of the Incarnation, wherein she had made her

<sup>4</sup> *Reforma de los Descalços*, bk. ii. ch. viii. 2.



profession, and which did not belong to her reform. The monasteries of friars founded in her lifetime were these :—

1. Duruelo . . . . .	28 Nov., 1568	ch. xiv. 5.
2. Pastrana . . . . .	13 July, 1569	ch. xvii. 13.
3. Mancera . . . . .	11 June, 1570	ch. xiv. 8.
4. Alcalá de Henares . . . . .	1 Nov., 1570	<i>Reforma</i> , bk. ii. ch. xliii. 5.
5. Altomira . . . . .	24 Nov., 1571	<i>ib.</i> ch. liv. 3.
6. La Roda . . . . .	— April, 1572	<i>ib.</i> bk. iv. ch. xvi. 4.
7. Granada . . . . .	19 May, 1573	<i>ib.</i> bk. iii. ch. iv. 10.
8. Peñuela . . . . .	29 June, 1573	<i>ib.</i> ch. x. 2.
9. Seville . . . . .	5 Jan., 1574	<i>ib.</i> ch. xxiii. 8.
10. Almodovar . . . . .	7 March, 1575	<i>ib.</i> ch. xxxv. 5.
11. Mount Calvary (Corençuela) . . . . .	—Dec., 1576	<i>ib.</i> ch. lii. 4.
12. Baeza . . . . .	14 June, 1579	<i>ib.</i> bk. iv. ch. xliv. 4.
13. Valladolid . . . . .	4th May, 1581	<i>ib.</i> bk. v. ch. xiii. 2.
14. Salamanca . . . . .	1 June, 1581	<i>ib.</i> ch. xvii. 3.
15. Lisbon . . . . .	19 Feb., 1582	<i>ib.</i> ch. xxiv. 3.

Of these monasteries two were abandoned for a time ; the friars removed from Duruelo to Mancera, and from Peñuela to Mount Calvary or Corençuela, but they returned to both places afterwards.

The monasteries of the nuns were these :—

1. Avila. . . . .	24 August, 1562	<i>Life</i> , ch. xxxv. 4.
2. Medina del Campo . . . . .	15 August, 1567	<i>Foundations</i> , ch. iii. 8.
3. Malagon . . . . .	11 April, 1568	<i>ib.</i> ch. ix. 5.
4. Valladolid . . . . .	15 August, 1568	<i>ib.</i> ch. x. 6.
5. Toledo . . . . .	14 May, 1569	<i>ib.</i> ch. x. 10, note.
6. Pastrana . . . . .	9 July, 1569	<i>Reforma</i> , bk. ii. ch. xxviii. 7.
7. Salamanca . . . . .	1 Nov., 1570	<i>Foundations</i> , ch. xix. 2.

8. Alba de Tormes	25 Jan., 1571	<i>ib.</i> ch. xx. 12.
9. Segovia . . .	19 March, 1574	<i>ib.</i> ch. xxi. 4.
10. Veas . . .	25 Feb., 1575	<i>ib.</i> ch. xxii. 4.
11. Seville . . .	29 May, 1575	<i>ib.</i> ch. xxiv. 12.
12. Caravaca . . .	1 January, 1576	<i>ib.</i> ch. xxviii. 7.
13. Villanueva de la Jara	21 Feb., 1580	<i>ib.</i> ch. xxviii. 31.
14. Palencia . . .	29 Dec., 1580	<i>ib.</i> ch. xxix. 8.
15. Soria . . .	3 June, 1581	<i>ib.</i> ch. xxx. 8.
16. Granada . . .	20 Jan., 1582	<i>Reforma</i> , bk. v. ch. xxiii. 4.
17. Burgos . . .	22 April, 1582	<i>Foundations</i> , ch. xxxi. 41.

But two of these foundations were made in the absence of the Saint. That of Caravaca was made when she was in Seville, unable to leave her sisters because of the straits they were in. She, however, made all the necessary preparations, and chose the nuns who were to live there. That of Granada was made by Anne of Jesus with the help of S. John of the Cross, S. Teresa being at the time unable to make the journey because of the foundation to be made in Burgos. She, however, chose the nuns to be sent with Anne of Jesus, and, among others, gave her Antonia of the Holy Ghost, one of the four nuns who took the habit in S. Joseph's when that house was founded in 1562.

In the year 1571, when she was engaged in Salamanca making and strengthening her foundation there, she was withdrawn from her own immediate work, and sent as prioress, by order of her superiors, to the monastery of the Incarnation in Avila, the house in which she had made her profession, but which she had left, as she thought, never to return to it, for her own foundation of S. Joseph's house in the same city. The apostolic visitor, Fray Pedro Fernandez, of the order of S. Dominic, seeing the desolate state of that house, knew of no means of relief except that of sending the Saint back to it. He consulted with the superiors of the order, and then, with

their full consent, but on his own authority, and in virtue of the power he had, laid on S. Teresa, without consulting the nuns, the heavy burden of being their prioress.

The monastery of the Incarnation had not been founded in poverty, yet it was more poor than the poorest of those which S. Teresa was founding. It was so poor that it could not give the nuns food enough to sustain them, and the result was that they asked for leave to go to their kindred from time to time to escape from the inconvenience of hunger. The general during his visitation in 1567 found himself obliged to close the novitiate until the number of nuns should have been diminished by death, or by transfer to other convents. Fray Pedro Fernandez, the apostolic visitor, seeing the sad state to which the monastery had been brought, determined to make an effort to save it, and succeeded, for the Saint's administration of it, both temporally and spiritually, answered all his expectations, and made the monastery what, perhaps, it had never been before, though it had been the nursing-mother of many holy souls, and among them S. Teresa herself.

This famous monastery had been built in the year 1513, by Doña Elyra de Medina, and mass was said in it for the first time in 1515, 4th April, the day on which S. Teresa was baptised. It stood outside the city, and was a fine and handsome house, with large gardens, and abundantly supplied with water. In 1550, according to the history of Fray Francis de Santa Maria, bk. i. ch. ix. 1, the house held one hundred and ninety nuns; and the Saint herself, in a letter written by her in March or April 1581, says that she lived for five-and-twenty years in a monastery wherein there were a hundred and eighty nuns.<sup>5</sup> But the poverty of the house and the lax observance were an evil, nor could the Saint shut her eyes to its disadvantage when she was living in it, though

<sup>5</sup> In 1567 there were more than a hundred and fifty. See *Life*, p. xii; *Foundations*, ch. ii. 1.

she made every excuse for it in her power,<sup>6</sup> and had a strong affection for it.

In the beginning of July 1571 the Saint knew of her appointment, but was most unwilling to accept the charge laid upon her<sup>7</sup>: our Lord upbraided her for holding back, and then she yielded.

In October she went from her own house in Avila, having first renounced for herself, 13th July, all the exemptions and mitigations which were in force in the monastery to which she was going. She had done so before, and now, for the greater security of her conscience, she repeats her resolution to observe the primitive rule in all its severity. On the 6th of October Fray Pedro, the apostolic visitor, accepts in Medina the act of renunciation, and releases the Saint from all obligations of conforming to the laxer observances then prevailing in the monastery of the Incarnation, as well as in the others of the order.

The nuns of the Incarnation were greatly troubled when they heard that the new prioress was coming without their consent, and in violation of their customs. They had not elected her, and they had not been asked to do so, neither would they have elected her if the visitor had allowed them to choose their prioress, as they had hitherto done. In their distress and alarm they sent for all their friends and acquaintance among seculars, made their complaints, and besought them to help them, now that they were to be placed under the authority of a nun who would put a stop to their innocent recreations and multiply their austerities. All this was known to the Saint, and she accepted her cross. The visitor apostolic, not ignorant of the trouble in the house, ordered the provincial to attend the Saint on the day of her taking possession, in order, if possible, to keep the peace.

The provincial, Fray Angel de Salazar, with his companion, went to the monastery, and, having assembled the

<sup>6</sup> *Life*, ch. xxxii. 12.

<sup>7</sup> *Relation* iii. 11.

sisters in chapter, read to them the letter of the visitor which announced to them that he had made Teresa of Jesus their prioress. There arose at once a cry of distress from the nuns, who regarded themselves as given over to an enemy ; some said they would never obey her, and others reviled her ; she in the meantime being on her knees before the Most Holy Sacrament on the altar. All the nuns, however, were not so foolish, and the wise, so soon as the letter had been read, took up the cross, and, chanting the *Te Deum*, went forth to receive their prioress. The trouble and disturbance were so great that some of the nuns fainted through the violence of their distress. The Saint went among them and gently touched them : all in a moment recovered their senses and their reason, and offered no further resistance to her.

Others, however, still remained obstinate in their rebellion, and bent on disobedience to the last ; but the Saint was patient and gentle, and exercised her authority as if she had none ; nevertheless she intended to be obeyed, and accordingly on the first chapter day the nuns on entering the choir saw the image of our Lady in the seat of the prioress, and S. Teresa sitting at her feet. The rebellious nuns were struck by a heavenly terror, and changed their minds : all signs and all desires of disobedience vanished, and the Saint was obeyed as prioress with as much readiness and affection as if she had been chosen by them of their own free will. From that day forth the nuns of the Incarnation gave no trouble to the prioress, and the abuses of the house were all corrected ; though under the mitigated observance, which was never changed, the nuns lived as if they were under the reform of S. Teresa ; their temporal and spiritual necessities, hitherto so great and serious, were at once supplied ; and the seed of good, sown in such good soil, grew and bore fruit so abundantly that the monastery of the Incarnation became from that day forth one of the pearls of the old observance.



She remained in the monastery of the Incarnation, the spiritual direction of which she had given to S. John of the Cross, for nearly two years.

In 1573 Anne of Jesus begged the visitor apostolic to allow S. Teresa to visit the monastery of Salamanca, which was still in trouble, and the nuns were without a church in which the Blessed Sacrament dwelt. Fray Pedro Fernandez gave the desired permission, and the Saint, who was in the monastery of the Incarnation 29th July of this year, made her preparations for her return to Salamanca, to make the final arrangements about her monastery there, and which she had not been able to make in 1571, when she was called away by some difficulties in Medina, and thence to Avila. She was in Salamanca on the 2nd of August, and on the 24th day of that month began there to write the history of the *Foundations*, at the request of her confessor, father Ripalda of the Society of Jesus.

The three years of her priorate in the Incarnation came to an end, 6th October 1574, on which day, to the great sorrow of the nuns, she left that house for her own monastery in Avila. All this time the storm was gathering which threatened to ruin her reform, and during which her patience was tried in the furnace of persecution.

The story of that persecution is briefly this.

The Council of Trent having legislated for the Religious Orders it became necessary to introduce the reforms decided upon with as little delay as possible. These aimed not only at the suppression of local or individual abuses—a thing which at no time and in no place had ever been lost sight of—but at a complete re-organisation principally in the matter of Poverty. Until that period a religious, though incapable of holding personal property was allowed to enjoy certain revenues; for instance, it frequently happened that people founded and endowed cells in convents reserving to themselves the right of pre-

senting members of their family to what might be termed 'a living'. Thus, in many convents we find an uninterrupted succession of scions of the founders' family; again, it might happen that in one and the same convent some cells were more richly endowed than others, and, in consequence, some religious more favourably placed than their brethren. Permissions to hold and enjoy endowed cells or to dispose of such endowments are very frequently met with until the Council of Trent radically changed these matters. They had been so ingrained in the minds and customs of the times that the introduction of the Reform decreed by the Council taxed the ingenuity of the General to the utmost. His correspondence, which is preserved, and the reports of his canonical visitations give a lively picture of the state of things and the difficulties he encountered in many provinces. Philip II who had already 'reformed' the Franciscans and some other orders requested the Holy See to send the General in person to carry out the Reform among the Carmelites. When Rubeo arrived in Spain he proceeded first to Madrid where he undoubtedly received reports and instructions concerning the province of Andalucia whither he hastened to begin his work. Unfortunately the diary of the Spanish journey is either lost or mislaid, but there are other sources from which we are able to learn a good deal. It was Rubeo's custom when arriving at a convent—after the usual complimentary speeches, etc.,—to explain to the friars the object of the visitation and the nature of the new legislation; he then sent his secretaries from cell to cell with a large basket and a pair of scissors, to gather all the garments whose material or shape was contrary to regulation, and to cut off collars, cuffs and brass buttons—which were then the fashion but against which Rubeo had an aversion that makes us smile. They had also the duty to remove any furniture or other objects not specially permitted by the constitutions, for instance musical instruments other than the

'lyre, baryton and ayudo' (probably guitars and mandolines of various sizes) which were allowed; their vigilance naturally extended to the books; those that were purely secular were confiscated, but if any work of a suspected author were found the owner was severely punished; the possession of a book mentioned on the Index led to criminal proceedings. The next step was that a notary was called before whom those in possession of endowments or rents had to renounce their rights. If they did so voluntarily they were honourably and approvingly mentioned in the acts of the visitation, but if any one demurred he was compelled under the censures and penalties expressed in Canon law to make his renunciation all the same. Meanwhile, if there were complaints against any religious, the case was sifted by the assessors and a process drawn up. It should be borne in mind that at that time and for centuries afterwards clerics enjoyed the *privilegium fori*, that is, if any was charged with some crime, say theft, he was not brought before the ordinary tribunals, but was dealt with by an ecclesiastical court which in the case of regulars was presided over by his superiors. A large number of such lawsuits under Rubeo lie before us. He was most painstaking in gathering all the evidence and hearing both sides, and in weighing both aggravating and extenuating circumstances; this done he fixed the penalty with astonishing minuteness, but it must be averred that according to the habit of the time his judgments were extremely severe, not excluding long imprisonment, flogging, fasting and even prolonged terms of forced labour in the galleys. These punishments were of course reserved for grievous offences, and if they appear to us in some cases excessive it is only because modern criminal legislation no longer takes cognisance of many faults which in themselves are serious enough but in a religious or ecclesiastic altogether incompatible with his sacred calling. At the end of the visitation the general drew up a number of regulations which after-

wards were collected and published and thus obtained force in the whole order. During all this time Rubeo paid much attention to the progress of students and scholars, held daily disputations in the convent, assisted at public 'scholastic acts,' paid state visits to archbishops and bishops, governors and magistrates and received their return visits with all the ceremonial and etiquette then in vogue.

As to the result of his visit in Andalucia he writes from Barcelona (20th August 1567) that he has done much and suffered a great deal and although he was obliged to condemn some members to the galleys, to send some others into exile and to throw a few into gaol yet he cherishes the province, for (as he says elsewhere) there as well as in the other provinces of Spain, there are not a few masters in Divinity and other fathers who have well deserved of the order, men well grounded in holy obedience (Rome, 1st Sept. 1568). From these words we may draw the conclusion that Rubeo was fairly satisfied with the result of his visitation. But he did not know the depth of the Andalusians, for he had hardly left the province before they took a step which undid all he had done. They asked for and obtained a bull (dated 16th April 1567) whereby the four Spanish provinces were substracted from the visitation of the general and subjected to that of the bishops; the ringleaders were 'some most criminal friars whose wish it was to live with the same lawlessness as they did before the visitation' (*ibid.*). And this was done while the visitation was actually in progress! Rubeo was kept ignorant of the fact for a considerable time, for he did not obtain the repeal of this bull till 31st January 1570. He knew that the Andalusians had bitterly complained to the king of his harshness and he knew also that Philip II, who liked to mix himself up with the affairs of the Church, had appointed, or caused the Holy See to appoint Apostolic visitors. In view of the friction which must necessarily result from such inter-

ference with the government of the order Rubeo nominated in each province a number of commissioners, to whom he gave detailed instructions, who were to meet the Royal visitors. They were to demand communication of the Apostolic Brief, and in their turn were to produce the constitutions made by Blessed John Soreth (1462), Nicholas Audet (1524) and his own (1568). They were not to allow any addition to or derogation from these constitutions and were carefully to examine the Brief in order to ascertain whether the visitors had any power to interfere. Among the commissioners nominated by Rubeo appear some whose names occur frequently in the history of S. Teresa and her foundations, namely, for Aragon, Michael Ulloa and Juan de la Quadra; for Andalucia, Agustin Suarez; for Castille Alonso Gonçalez, provincial, Angel de Salazar, Martin Garcia, Antonio de Heredia and Juan Gutierrez de la Madalena; and for Catalonia, Jeronimo Tostado.

The reader will now understand why Rubeo persistently forbade the Discalced friars to make foundations in Andalucia. Already in his first patent (16th August 1567) he mentions expressly the province of Castille as the seat of the Contemplative Carmelites; on 8 August 1570 he reserves to himself the licence for admission of Andalusians in the convents of the Discalced friars; on 19th August 1571 he grants permission for the foundation of the convents of Altomira and Villena (afterwards established at La Roda) with strict prohibition to make further foundations; in February 1573 he admits the convent of Mondejar projected by the Count de Tendilla with the proviso that if this place were not situated in Old Castille the licence should be void. On 22nd June 1573 Fray Diego de Leon<sup>3</sup> obtained letters patent from the

<sup>3</sup> He was born at Utrera, was Master in Divinity and became titular bishop of Colibraso and suffragan to Cardinal Bartolomeo de la Cueva bishop of Siponto (2nd October 1560), after whose death he probably filled the same post under his successor, Ptolemeo Galli who resigned in 1573.



General for the foundation of a convent of Discalced Carmelites within the province of Andalucia, but this was to be an exception and no other convent might be established there ; this condition is further insisted upon in a second patent of 7th February 1574. Evidently Rubeo was at that time ignorant that in point of fact his ruling had already been transgressed in three places—Granada, Peñuela and Seville. Convents of both friars and nuns were allowed to be founded by Don Juan Diaz at Almodovar del Campo under a patent of 21st June 1574, but no Calced Carmelite was to be admitted except Father Antony of Jesus, formerly called Antonio de Heredia.

Another provision which Rubeo had greatly at heart was that the Discalced friars and nuns should remain subject to the provincial of Castille. Theirs were to be reformed convents for the edification of the province, but on no account were they to attempt a separation or the establishment of a Congregation of their own. In order to understand this point it is necessary to remind the reader that as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century a reform had been set on foot which afterwards was called the Congregation of Mantua. At the time with which we are concerned the friction occasioned by its establishment had long since subsided, but its offshoot, the French Congregation of Albi, erected in 1499 by bishop Louis d'Amboise without the concurrence of the order though afterwards aggregated to it led to serious friction. Rubeo had interminable difficulties with it, and some years after his death the Holy See issued a decree of suppression. Much as the General favoured the foundation of reformed convents he looked upon separatist tendencies as a real evil and took every step to prevent the spreading in Spain of the troubles which

Diego assisted at the Council of Trent where he distinguished himself in the discussions and as preacher. He withdrew to Seville about 1569 and died in 1589. For some time he was titular bishop of the diocese of the Isles in Scotland.

had undermined the peace and tranquillity of the order in France. He therefore said in his patent of 16th August 1567: 'If at any time any of the (Discalced) friars, on pretext of living in greater perfection should endeavour to separate themselves from the province (of Castille) with the help of grandees or on the strength of briefs or other concessions from Rome we pronounce and declare them men actuated by evil intentions, authors of seditions, quarrels, contentions and ambition unto the deception and perdition of souls, and we as the spiritual Father of the order (however unworthy) reject them and their successors as steeped in a spirit of contradiction, discontent, scandal, as disturbers of the peace, as disobedient and defective in the fulfilment of their promises, until they turn back and do penance and thus save their souls against the day of the Lord; so that they may learn what an evil it is to defame the order and cause divisions, and to bring about the separation of brothers and the refusal of obedience; and this we do because we have no intention of fomenting infernal discords but rather wish to further the perfection of religious life in the Carmelite order, of which we may say that it is the most perfect of all, as will be seen from the tenor of the Rule; and in order that everything may be done with due humility and obedience we ordain that no convent shall be founded unless in virtue of the permission and blessing of the bishop to be obtained previously as is prescribed by the holy Council (of Trent) etc.'

What must have been the feelings of Rubco when, in the course of the year 1574 he became cognisant of the fact that the two points against which he had intended to guard himself—the foundation of convents without his consent, particularly in Andalucia, and the establishment of a new Congregation—had been disregarded, can easily be imagined. Hitherto he had favoured the Reform and done everything in his power to support S. Teresa's holy undertaking; she, with the

approval of Father Peter Fernandez had kept him fully informed of her doings and had never failed to apply to him when the necessity arose ; but the Visitor apostolic of Andalucia, Fray Francisco de Vargas, had not shown the same delicacy of feeling, neither had his sub-delegates treated the General with due respect. Thus it came to pass that when the chapter of 1575 assembled Rubeo had before him the complaints of the Andalusians but no report from the Discalced Carmelites, neither was there any official representative present who—even if personally not favourably disposed towards the Reform—would at least have given a true account of what had happened. As it was Rubeo placed before the chapter a copy of his patents and instructions, which we have seen, and in which the salient passages are underlined so as to show the divergence of his permissions and instructions from the work actually carried out in Andalucia. We have now to explain how this came to pass.

In August 1569, His Holiness S. Pius V made two Dominican friars visitors apostolic for four years of the Spanish Carmelites—Fray Pedro Fernandez visitor of Castille, and Fray Francisco de Vargas visitor of Andalucia. Their authority was different from that of the general of the order, because they were the delegates of the Sovereign Pontiff, and that was the reason why they considered themselves entitled to overlook the authority of the general during the progress of the reform. S. Teresa had received permission from the general to found only two monasteries of friars, but in the province of Castille, and not in Andalucia. As the visitors apostolic were not bound by that prohibition, nor were the friars, these were now subject to visitors by a decree of the Sovereign Pontiff. The visitors had instructions to correct and amend what was amiss, and, being desirous to reform the order, they not only did not regard that prohibition, but encouraged the growth of the reform of S. Teresa. So when Duruelo and Pastrana had been founded, whereby

the powers which the general had given to S. Teresa were exhausted, the apostolic visitors threw their sickle into the harvest, and the foundations of Granada and Peñuela were made before their commission expired. Alcalá de Henares had been founded with the consent of the general. The friars of the old observance were more or less jealous, but they bore for a time with seeming patience what many of them regarded as innovations, if not as something worse.

The prior of Pastrana, the second house of the reform, was Baltasar of Jesus, Nieto. He had quitted the old observance for the primitive rule. As he was originally from the province of Andalucia, the visitor apostolic there, Fray Francisco de Vargas, wrote to him and begged him to return to Andalucia, there to begin the reform. Fray Baltasar could not do so at the time, and the visitor was satisfied with the reasons he gave. But not long after one of the friars in Pastrana, Fray Diego de Santa Maria—he too had been once a friar of the old observance—was sent to Granada, his native place, on some affair of the order, and with him, as his fellow, Fray Ambrose of S. Peter, not yet ordained priest. The two friars, when they arrived in Cordova, presented themselves, as they were bound to do, before their superior, Fray Francisco de Vargas, the visitor apostolic and prior of the Dominicans there. By him they were told that they were under his authority—they were in his province—and that he would employ them in founding a house of bare-footed friars in Andalucia. Fray Diego represented his case as well as he could, and begged the visitor not to force him to do an act which would be regarded as a wrong to his superior, the apostolic visitor in Castille, with whose leave, for quite other ends, he had come into the province of Andalucia. Father Vargas said he would arrange the matter with his brother visitor, and Fray Diego must remain under his obedience, and begin the reform of S. Teresa within his jurisdiction. He offered

the two friars either of two houses of the old observance to be used for the purpose, and they, thus compelled, accepted the smaller of the two, San Juan del Puerto. The house was given up to them by the provincial of the order, Fray Agustin Suarez, and was taken possession of in due form in the end of October, or in the beginning of November, 1572, S. Teresa being at the time prioress of the Incarnation in Avila.

In the next year, 1573, Fray Baltasar of Jesus, prior of Pastrana, went to Andalucia with the leave of his provincial, Fray Angel de Salazar. The prince Ruy Gomez, duke of Pastrana, being in the secret, had applied to the provincial for the permission; he had some matter to communicate to his son-in-law, the duke of Medina Sidonia, and wished Fray Baltasar to be his messenger. Fray Baltasar therefore went with the prince to Illescas, whither the latter proceeded in order to fulfil a vow made in his late illness, and from that place sent to Pastrana and Altomira for those fathers there who had abandoned the mitigation for the reform, and sent them by two and two together, to avoid suspicion, to Andalucia, and with directions to remain apart as if they knew nothing of the others. Meanwhile he and Fray Gabriel of the Conception went together to Granada, where they were well received. The apostolic visitor was glad to see them, and gave them a house hitherto possessed by the friars of the mitigation.

Fray Francisco de Vargas, the visitor, having Fray Baltasar within his jurisdiction at last, transferred to him the powers he had received from the Holy See, and made him visitor in his place, with authority over all the houses of the reform made or to be made in Andalucia; he also gave him power to receive novices, but none of them were to belong to the old observance without the consent of the provincial. This was done, 28th April 1573, and on 19th May and 29th June, the two houses of Granada and Peñuela were founded in the province of Andalucia.



Now, the friars of the old observance were not a little troubled at these proceedings ; two of their own houses had been taken from them, and given to certain of their brethren, who were by the lives they led reproaching them with laxness, and whom, therefore, they considered, on the whole, as wanting in prudence. They had themselves grown old in the order under the mitigated rule, and disliked the changes which were made. They complained, and their complaints could not be kept secret from the visitor apostolic. Fray Francisco de Vargas saw that their complaining was not wholly unreasonable, and, thinking that some of their vexation might be lessened by bringing into Andalucia friars who had never made profession under the relaxed observance, asked Fray Mariano of S. Benedict<sup>9</sup>—his letter to him is dated 20th May 1573—to come to Andalucia, bringing with him certain friars who had made their profession in the reform, and who therefore did not belong to the old observance. The visitor believed that the friars who had abandoned the mitigation for the reform were less esteemed by their brethren whom they had forsaken than the new friars, and that the latter would win by their conduct that esteem and reverence which the former had lost.

Fray Mariano, when he received the visitor's letter, was in Madrid, in attendance on Ruy Gomez, who was on his deathbed. They were old friends, and when the news of that illness was brought to Peñuela, where Fray Baltasar was detained by certain matters to be settled there, he hastened to Madrid, and met Fray Mariano there, discharging those duties which Fray Baltasar would have had to discharge if he had not been so far away.

Fray Mariano consented, and made his preparations for the journey to Andalucia, and chose for his companion Fray Jerome of the Mother of God (Gratian), who had made his profession in Pastrana 28th March of that year.

<sup>9</sup> See note <sup>7</sup> to ch. xvii. 6.

Fray Baltasar did not intend to return to Andalucia, and went back from Madrid to his own house of Pastrana, where, on the 4th of August, he transferred to Fray Jerome, the companion of Mariano, the powers he had received from the apostolic visitor, Fray Francisco de Vargas. But, as Fray Baltasar was not visitor of Castille, he could not send his delegate to Andalucia, who in Castille was under the jurisdiction of Fray Pedro Fernandez, the visitor of the order in that province. Fray Mariano had some affairs of his own to look after in Andalucia, which he had not settled when he entered the order in 1569, and now wished to do what he had not done then: this became a reason for asking of his superior permission to go to Andalucia. It was not thought prudent to inform the visitor of Castille of that which was about to be done, for he would never consent to allow the friars Mariano and Jerome of the Mother of God to leave his province: he was also unwilling to found more houses, because he wished to strengthen and improve those already founded, rather than waste, as he considered it, the means provided for that end.

Under these conditions Fray Mariano applied to the provincial, Fray Angel de Salazar, for leave to go to Andalucia, giving as his reason, which was certainly true, the necessity of arranging some affairs of his own, but saying nothing of the other reason—the propagation of the reform in Andalucia. Fray Angel, having no suspicion of any other purpose, readily consented, thinking also perhaps that, as Fray Mariano was only a layman at this time, the friars would hardly send him on any mission of importance, even though he was to go in company with another friar. The provincial had been asked to allow him to chose a companion, and that also the provincial allowed, without inquiring who that companion was to be.

The licence of the provincial thus obtained, Fray Jerome of the Mother of God and Fray Mariano left in

the beginning of September 1573, when S. Teresa was in Salamanca. They made their way to Toledo to see Fray Antonio of Jesus. Fray Antonio, though of the reform of S. Teresa, was then prior of the Carmelite monastery there of the old observance, having been appointed to that office by the visitor apostolic, Fray Pedro Fernandez. They were detained there because Fray Antonio was at the time absent from his monastery making arrangements for the house which was founded in Almodovar in 1575. While staying there Fray Mariano received the commandment of the father-general to be ordained; he tried to excuse himself—he had entered the order intending to remain a lay brother—but Fray Jerome persuaded him to obey, and accordingly, having received the minor orders, he was made sub-deacon on Ember Saturday. The two friars now hastened to Andalucia, afraid of being overtaken by a messenger from the provincial, who, they thought, might suspect their purpose as soon as he heard of the ordination of Fray Mariano. They arrived safely in Granada, and presented themselves before the visitor apostolic, Fray Francisco de Vargas, Dominican provincial. The heart of the visitor was made glad by their arrival, and by the ordination of Fray Mariano. He observed them narrowly for a few days, and then, convinced by what he had seen, that Fray Jerome had great gifts which ought to be used in the service of the order, and for the greater glory of God who had given them to him, he made him his own delegate and substitute, vesting him with all the powers which he had himself received from the Sovereign Pontiff. Accordingly Fray Jerome became, not the visitor and superior of the friars of the reform only, as was Fray Baltasar, but of the friars of the mitigation also, in the province of Andalucia.

Fray Jerome resisted with all his might at first, but he yielded in the end, and Fray Mariano, whom in Toledo he had persuaded to receive holy orders, now, by way of retribution, urged him to accept the burden. He sub-

mitted to the visitor, but it was agreed between them that for the present the matter should be kept secret. The secret could not be long kept, for Fray Angel de Salazar's suspicions had been roused by the ordination of Fray Mariano, and his choice of Fray Jerome as his companion. The two friars therefore received an order while in Granada to return forthwith to Pastrana, under pain of being held as disobedient and rebellious friars. They replied to the provincial that they were ready and willing to obey, but could not, because they were under the jurisdiction of the visitor of Andalucia : in fact, Fray Jerome was now above the provincial of Castille, and no longer subject to his authority, but for the present he refrained from saying so.

The friars of the old observance knew nothing of the delegation of the authority of the visitor, who, to make matters safe, and to insure Fray Jerome in his dignity, gave him also the original letters of the Pope. Armed therewith, Fray Jerome and Fray Mariano went to Seville, and were well received in the house of the friars of the mitigation, where Fray Vincent of the Trinity was prior. There they met the provincial of Andalucia, Fray Agustin Suarez, to whom Fray Jerome showed his commission from the visitor to govern the friars of the reform, but not his commission to visit and reform the friars of the mitigation : of that he said nothing. He then told the provincial that he meant to restore at once the house of San Juan del Puerto to those who held it before the visitor gave it to the reform. The provincial was glad, for the old friars had been greatly hurt by that act of the visitor, and the restitution was made on the feast of S. Luke, 18th October, and on the evening of the 22nd Fray Jerome brought the friars of the reform to Seville. They were lodged in the house of the old observance, and joined in all the acts of the community as brethren. Hitherto the peace between the two families had not been openly broken.

Fray Jerome in Seville was not, however, altogether a welcome guest in the house of the old observants, who soon began to murmur, and then to find fault with the reform : the change was an offence to them : some felt it as a reproach, while many certainly admired what they did not think themselves bound to practise. Difficulties arose, for they could not be hindered among the brethren whose habits were different, and Fray Mariano urged Fray Jerome to provide a separate house for the friars of the reform. The archbishop of Seville, knowing what was going on, offered Fray Jerome a part of his palace, but Fray Jerome would not do anything by which the dissension might become known too soon, and therefore would not leave the monastery till he had found a house for his friars. This was done, with the help and consent of the archbishop, and possession of it was taken, but secretly, 5th January 1574, on the eve of the Epiphany.

Fray Jerome ordered his friars to make their way two and two, and as secretly as possible, to the house he had chosen ; and then, on the eve of the Epiphany, the steward of the archbishop, in the presence of a notary, delivered the keys of it to Fray Jerome, and went his way. The friars occupied themselves forthwith in arranging the house, and were thus busy till it was time to say matins ; everything was then ready, and mass was sung on the feast of the Kings.

On that very day the discontent of the old friars in Seville broke out : the prior and the provincial were blamed for allowing the new house to be founded, but the prior and the provincial knew nothing of it, neither could they have hindered it, for Fray Jerome was the superior of both, and had authority to do what he had done. They felt it very keenly, for a monastery of the same order founded close to their own showed that there was something wrong, and they knew that the blame would not be thrown wholly on the friars of the reform. They



resolved to send some of themselves to Fray Jerome to ask the meaning of his act, and the two friars deputed for the purpose were the sub-prior and Fray Diego de Leon, who was now bishop of the Isles in Scotland. He was at this time staying with his brethren in Seville, for he had been, and was still, a friar of that house. The two friars went forth on the feast of the Epiphany, and represented their grievance to Fray Jerome; they asked him how he could without the leave of the provincial found another house; besides, he had not shown that he had any authority for his proceedings, and the fathers of the order were very much hurt thereat.

To these Fray Jerome made answer that he had authority to do what he had done, and they too must know it, for they acknowledged it when he gave them back the monastery of San Juan del Puerto, and when they accepted it at his hands: however, if they had any misgivings on the subject they could go to the archbishop, who had his instructions in his hands: he could not show them himself for that reason, but the provincial and other fathers knew what they were, and were satisfied with them in the affair of the monastery out of which he had taken the friars of the reform to be replaced by those of the old observance.

The two religious were silenced, but they were not at their ease, and nothing further was done. Fray Jerome remained with his own friars in their new house, and for the present seemed to have no other object than to watch over the progress of it in the spiritual life. The archbishop appointed him a preacher in the cathedral, wherein also he preached the Lenten sermons in 1575.

S. Teresa was at this time in Salamanca preparing for the foundation in Segovia, which was made on the feast of S. Joseph, 19th March, 1574. In Holy Week, because of the strange conduct of the princess of Eboli, she dissolved her monastery in Pastrana, and removed her nuns to Segovia. Having established her monastery

there, she returned to Avila on the 1st of October, to the monastery of the Incarnation, of which she was prioress.

On the 6th of October the three years were over during which she was to be, and had been, prioress of the monastery of the Incarnation. She resigned her office, but the nuns, though not all, wished to re-elect her; the provincial would not allow them, and the Saint herself resisted with her whole heart, for she wished to return to S. Joseph's. She did return, and there the nuns, glad to receive her, elected her prioress. She was now for the second time chosen prioress of the house she had founded with so much trouble. Shortly after the election she went to Valladolid, her presence being desirable on account of Doña Casilda, whose story is told in chs. x. and xi. In the beginning of January she returned to Avila, and made preparation for the foundation in Veas, not knowing nor even suspecting that the town was within the province of Andalusia. Here she heard from the bishop of Avila that the inquisitors were searching for her book—her *Life*, written by herself. Meanwhile complaints had been carried to the general, and the reform was spoken of as a great evil. The general, therefore, unable to withstand his subjects, obtained from His Holiness Gregory XIII, on the 3rd of August of this year 1574, the recall of the powers given to the two Dominican friars who were visitors of Castille and Andalusia; but he did not put the papal letters in execution at once, reserving their publication for the next general chapter to be held in Piacenza. The existence of the papal letters, however, became known in Spain; and the nuncio, Monsignore Ormaneto, who had the reform of Carmel greatly at heart, and whose powers were not touched by the brief of recall, made Fray Francisco de Vargas and Fray Jerome of the Mother of God visitors jointly of Andalusia. But he first of all sent to Rome for his greater security, and there learnt from the secretary of His Holiness that none of his powers were withdrawn.

His commission to the two friars was signed on the 22nd of September, within two months of the issue of the brief by which the faculties of the visitors had been recalled. The nuncio meant to give more authority still to Fray Jerome, and this became known to some one of his friends or kindred, who sent word of it to him in Seville, and advised him to come to Madrid. Fray Jerome was not able to leave his monastery before Easter 1575, because of the duties he had there to discharge, as well as in the cathedral church ; but after Easter he set out and arrived in Veas, when he saw S. Teresa, who was very much surprised when she heard from him that she was then in the province of Andalucia. She had never intended to make any foundations in that province, because the general had expressly forbidden her. However, she was now in Andalucia, and as such subject to Fray Jerome, its visitor, who laid his commands upon her, and bade her found a monastery in Seville, while she herself had resolved to make a foundation in Madrid.

Fray Jerome went from Veas, where a messenger from the nuncio found him, to Madrid, and there was made, 3rd August 1575, visitor of the province of Andalucia, and at the same time superior of the friars of the reform both in Andalucia and Castille ; he was henceforth called the provincial of the barefooted Carmelites, thereby receiving full authority from the nuncio to propagate the reform in both provinces. He now proceeded to visit the new houses, gave constitutions to the friars—the nuns were in possession of those given by the Saint—and settled the affairs of the order as well as he could, preparing the way, though perhaps not intending it, for the separation of the reform of S. Teresa from the old observance of the mitigation.

While Fray Jerome of the Mother of God was making his visitation the Saint went to Seville, and with much toil and labour made her foundation there on the feast of the Most Holy Trinity, 29th May 1575.

From Seville she wrote a long letter to the general of the order explaining the mistake she had made in going to Veas, and making excuses for Fray Jerome and Fray Mariano. Perhaps she was not altogether pleased with what had been done.

‘I send to your paternity a letter about the foundation in Veas and the request made for a foundation in Caravaca. . . . I also informed your paternity of the reasons why I came to make a foundation in Seville. . . . I should also like you to know that I made many inquiries when I went to Veas whether it was in Andalucia or not, for I never meant to go to that province. Veas certainly is not in Andalucia, but in ecclesiastical matters it does belong to that province. It was more than a month after the foundation had been made that I knew of this. When I found myself with the nuns I thought it would not be well to abandon the monastery, and that was one reason also for my coming to this place ; but that which weighed most with me was that which I gave to your paternity, namely, to look into this affair of these fathers. They give good reasons for what they have done, and certainly I can see nothing in them but a wish to be your true children, and to give you no annoyance : still, for all that, I cannot regard them as blameless. They now see that it would have been better if they had taken another course, so as to give no offence to your paternity. We have great discussions, especially Mariano and myself, who is of a quick temper, while Gratian is like an angel : so if he had been alone things would have been differently done. It was Fray Baltasar, prior of Pastrana, who made him come hither. I may say it to your paternity, if you knew him you would be glad to have him for your son. I verily believe him to be one, and Fray Mariano also.’<sup>10</sup>

But on 22nd May, the general of Carmel held a chapter of the whole order in Piacenza, within the duchy of

<sup>10</sup> Letter of 18th June 1575.

Parma ; the papal brief recalling the powers of the visitors was published, and the suppression of the unauthorised convents was decreed by the assembled fathers, who ordered the removal of the barefooted Carmelites from three houses they had in Andalusia, allowing them to remain in those foundations which had been made by authority of the father-general.<sup>11</sup> Fray Jerome Tostado, a Portuguese, was commissioned to execute the decree, who

<sup>11</sup> The following are the decrees of the chapter :

1. Et quia nonnulli inobedientes, rebelles atque contumaces qui Discalciati vulgo vocantur, contra patentes et statuta prioris generalis habitarunt et habitant extra provinciam Castellæ quam Veterem dicunt, nempe apud Granatum, Hispalim (Seville) et prope oppidum vulgo nuncupatum La Pagnola (Peñuela), nec noluerunt humiliter-adductis fallaciis et cavillis et tergiversationibus-mandata ejusdem prioris generalis et litteras acceptare, significabunt eisdem Carmelitibus Discalceatis sub pœnis et censuris apostolicis, invocato etiam si opus fuerit auxilio brachii sæcularis, ut infra tres dies inde omnino abscedant. Et quosvis contradicentes compescant, graviter puniant et a nobis citatos esse ut personaliter appareant intiment et præsentibus testibus innotescere faciant, nisi ab eorum pervicacia resipuerint.

2. Implorabitur item favor Rorum archiepiscoporum Nuntiorum ejusdem Smi D(omini) N(ostri) Legatorum a latere ut opportune illum exhibeant, sicut idem Summus Pontifex mandat in litteris datis Romæ apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die XV Aprilis 1575 pontificatus sui anno III.

3. Item patres primarii seu diffinitores judicarunt etiam auctoritate apostolica amovendos esse Carmelitas primæ regulæ qui vulgo Discalciati nuncupantur a conventibus obtentis extra provinciam Castellæ et etiam si quos in Castilla accepissent contra patentes et institutiones Rmi P. Generalis ab eis excludi et rejici ; item quod visitentur et debitis institutis juxta priorem regulam constringantur ; si vero aliqui ex illis obedire recusaverint citamus eos ut coram nobis compareant infra spatium trium mensium a die quo obedire recusaverint.

It will be seen that nothing is said either against the Reform as such or against the Carmelite nuns, or S. Teresa in particular. The order she received to withdraw to a convent of her own choice and to remain there did not proceed from the chapter ; it was probably a measure taken by the General personally, and S. Teresa was perhaps mistaken in thinking that she was never again under any circumstances to leave one convent for another. There is ample evidence that Rubeo was quite open to reasonable representations when supported by good motives.



accordingly came to Spain, a resolute and serious man, fully bent on the ruin of the new Carmel.<sup>12</sup>

Before the decrees of the general chapter were brought to Spain Fray Jerome of the Mother of God went to Seville, 21st November 1575, where the Saint was still living, and proceeded to execute the commission of the nuncio. It was a work full of danger, and the Saint was greatly alarmed (*Rel.* ix. 27), for the friars in Seville were not likely to yield obedience to Fray Jerome, who was young in the order, and even in years. Nor did they: they disputed his powers and denounced him as a rebel against the lawful authority of the general. Fray Jerome was patient, and at last the sub-prior of the house yielded; then by degrees the other friars throughout the province.

Towards the end of the year, a little before Christmas, 'there was brought to me,' saith the Saint (ch. xxvii. 18), 'from the general chapter, which I think ought to have highly considered the increase of the order, a decree, made by the deputies assembled, enjoining me not only to make no more foundations, but also on no account whatever to leave the house I should choose to dwell in, which was something like sending me to prison.' This decree was brought to her by order of Fray Angel de Salazar, provincial of Castille. It is probable enough that Fray Angel, who had known her long, may have considered the proceedings of his superiors somewhat

<sup>12</sup> He had been prior of Barcelona at the time of Rubeo's visitation in August 1567, who was so struck with his zeal that he nominated him 'Reformer general' of the province of Catalonia, with charge to carry out the reforms decreed by the Council of Trent (Patent of 28th August 1567). At the expiration of his term of priorship (September 1570) Tostado joined the General in the capacity of assistant and as such accompanied Rubeo on his visitation in upper Italy, in the summer of 1572. Having spent the year 1573 in Rome he was sent, in January 1574 to the convent of Naples, one of the most difficult of the entire order, where he introduced the reforms. Returning to Rome he remained with the General until the chapter of Piacenza.

harsh, though he could not say so, for he sent her word at the same time that she could appeal to the Pope. That the Saint would not do: she said she preferred obedience to everything else, and would submit at once. Fray Jerome told her that there was no necessity for instant obedience, and, as the winter had set in, he bade her stay in Seville for the present. She did so, and left it for Toledo, the place she had chosen to dwell in, 4th June 1576.

On the 12th of May a chapter of the friars of the mitigation was held in Moraleja, and decrees were made in it which could have no other issue but the suppression of the reform, Fray Jerome Tostado being now in Spain, about to execute the decrees of the chapter of Piacenza. The reformed friars also met, called together by Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, as their provincial, in Almodovar, 8th August, where they, on their part, did what they could to save themselves from ruin. But Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, when he went to Seville from Almodovar, saw all his work there undone by the provincial of the mitigation. Fray Agustin Suarez had resumed his authority, had removed the priors appointed by Fray Jerome, and had restored his province nearly to the state it was in when he was compelled to withdraw the year before. The great monastery of Seville, therefore, on the arrival of Fray Jerome, was in open rebellion against the visitor apostolic—the friars had recovered their former courage, and now disputed his authority: however, he prevailed, and as the archbishop was on his side the friars once more were compelled to obey the visitor apostolic. But soon afterwards Fray Jerome was called to Madrid on the affairs of his order, and then the friars, glad to recover their liberty, and no longer afraid of him, begged the provincial, Fray Agustin Suarez, to resume his office and take upon himself once more the government of the house. Fray Agustin consented, and again undid the

work of Fray Jerome. Then there arose a cry against S. Teresa and Fray Jerome—against the barefooted friars and the nuns, against all that had been done in the order—such as had never before been heard. The storm had burst at last, and the order of Carmel was in confusion.

In the following year, 1577, Monsignor Ormaneto, friendly to the reform, died, and the friars of the mitigation, in the belief that the commission of Fray Jerome was thereby suspended, renewed their strength, and, assured of victory as they thought, laid their hands heavily on their brethren of the reform. Fray Jerome Tostado the vicar-general began to execute his commission in earnest, and the barefooted friars literally hid themselves till the fury of the storm should abate. S. Teresa came to Avila in September, and begged the king to help her and her order. Don Philip did so, but probably not in the way the Saint meant, for he took upon himself to forbid the vicar of the general the exercise of his lawful functions. Meanwhile the new nuncio, Monsignore Segá, arrived, and took the matter into his own hands. He was, unhappily, fully persuaded that right and justice were wholly with the friars of the mitigation, and that Fray Jerome and S. Teresa were rebellious subjects in need of restraint and correction. He sent for Fray Jerome, and demanded the commission which the late nuncio had given him.

It seems that before this the king had consulted the lawyers, who told him that the commission held by Fray Jerome had not under the circumstances ceased to be valid, notwithstanding the death of the nuncio who had granted it, and that, therefore, the visitation of the order, which had been begun, might be continued to the end. The Saint herself thus writes on the subject:—  
‘We thought it quite clear that on the death of the last nuncio the visitation [of the province by Fray Jerome] was put a stop to; but the theologians and lawyers of

Alcalá and Toledo were consulted and they said "No," on the ground that it had been begun, and that it had to be finished notwithstanding the nuncio's death ; but if it had not been begun, then certainly the powers of the visitor died with the nuncio.'<sup>13</sup> Monsignore Segá had no occasion for considering the question at all ; so he asked Fray Jerome, as his superior, to resign his authority, just as the late nuncio might have done. The friar unhappily took counsel that was not the best, and refused the nuncio's request, and that refusal of Fray Jerome to resign his authority into his hands confirmed him in his opinion that the friars of the reform were really rebels against the authority of their general. He waited till the king's council decided against Fray Jerome Tostado, who went back to Rome, and then, seeing that there was no visitor of the order in Spain, as nuncio appointed friars of the old observance to be visitors of the new.

He now summoned the friars of the reform to submit and own his authority, and sent his representatives to Pastrana, where most of them were assembled, to receive their submission. For a moment it was doubtful whether the friars would yield ; some of them were for resistance, but Fray Jerome happily took better advice than that of lawyers, and retired to his cell with a saintly brother, whose advice he asked, and whose advice he took. He then re-assembled the fathers, and told them to obey the nuncio ; he did so himself, gave up at once all his faculties, and whatever letters he had received from the late nuncio, and submitted absolutely to the authority of Monsignore Segá, whom he had so lately treated with scant respect.

Fray Jerome went back to Madrid with two of his brethren, Fray Antonio and Fray Mariano, who were pillars of the reform, and presented himself humbly before the nuncio. Their submission pleased him, but

<sup>13</sup> Letter of about 10th August 1578.

he could not leave their contumaciousness unpunished. He deprived them of their faculties, and would not let them even hear mass for a time. Fray Jerome was sent to the Carmel of Madrid as a prisoner, Fray Antonio of Jesus to the barefooted Franciscans, and Fray Mariano to the Dominicans of our Lady of Atocha. Soon after Fray Juan de Jesus came to Madrid, and was ordered to prison by the nuncio.

Monsignore Segá, with the best intentions, and in the right, for he did nothing that he was not justified in doing, brought the reform of S. Teresa to the very edge of the precipice. He was the delegate of the Pope, and was, moreover, carrying out accurately the decrees of the general chapter of the order, as well as executing the undoubted wishes of the general. It is to the credit of Don Philip and his government that, though most anxious to see the reform grow and prosper, they used neither force nor fraud in the matter, but allowed the nuncio to do his will according to the law.

It was in December of this year that S. John of the Cross, who had been left as confessor of the nuns of the Incarnation, was seized by night and carried away to prison in the Carmelite monastery of Toledo, where he was most cruelly dealt with, and was not allowed to make known to any of his brethren where he was detained.

In the sore straits to which they had been reduced, the friars whom the nuncio had punished but after a time had released from prison took counsel together, and resolved to do an act which is hardly to be justified. They remembered that the apostolic visitors appointed by S. Pius V, Fray Pedro Fernandez and Fray Francisco de Vargas, had made a decree to the effect that when their term of office had expired the barefooted friars might meet in chapter and elect a provincial of their own. They considered the chapter held in Almodovar 8th Sept. 1576, justified by that decree, and by the



commission which Fray Jerome had received from the late nuncio. They were now, they thought, brought into a state in which it was necessary to have recourse to the powers vested in them by that decree. Being without a superior by the resignation of Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, who had submitted to the nuncio they said—and herein they were advised by the lawyers—that Fray Antonio of Jesus, who had been elected definitor in Almodovar, should, as the highest personage among them, summon another chapter to be held in the same place.

Fray Antonio unhappily did so, and the chapter was held in Almodovar, 9th October 1578. S. John of the Cross, miraculously delivered from prison, came to the chapter, but he earnestly dissuaded his brethren from the course they were about to take. Notwithstanding his entreaties they elected Fray Antonio their provincial. But before the chapter was dissolved Fray Juan of Jesus came in from Madrid, and vehemently urged upon the chapter the wrongfulness of its act. He told his brethren that they could not plead the decree of the visitors, on which they relied, because they had renounced every right to a separate government when Fray Jerome submitted to the nuncio. He begged them to undo what they had done, but they, by way of reply, had him confined to his cell for a month, that he might not go back to Madrid and denounce to the nuncio what they had so unwisely done.

Fray Antonio and his brethren, not without grave misgivings however, then returned to Madrid, and told the nuncio what they had done. Monsignore Segá was extremely displeased and extremely angry; he annulled their acts, and ordered them all into prison again, and excommunicated every one who had taken any part in the chapter of Almodovar. He ordered S. Teresa, as the fount of all the disorders in Carmel, to remain as a close prisoner in Toledo, and on the 16th October 1578

commanded all the friars of the reform to submit in everything to the prelates of the mitigation. The friars whom he sent forth to execute his decree did so with a good will, and the reform was on the very point of being crushed. Even the monasteries of the nuns were visited, and the discipline in them changed, while S. Teresa could not help any of her children, and to human eyes all her work was utterly undone.

In the early part of the next year (1579) the sun rose again on the Carmel of the reform. Monsignore Segá, who was in perfect good faith throughout the whole of his harsh proceedings, in proof of his sincerity and fair dealing offered to accept four assessors who should be witnesses of his acts; that offer was accepted, and the result was that the nuncio's eyes were opened to the groundlessness of the charges which the friars of the mitigation had brought against their brethren. He had come to Spain prejudiced against the reform, and had hitherto looked at everything in the light of that prejudice. Now, in consultation with the four assessors, he saw at once that he had been misled. He offered instantly, and without hesitation, to redress the wrongs he had unwittingly, but most conscientiously, wrought, and on the 1st of April 1579, recalled the commissions he had granted to the friars of the old observance, granting authority at the same time to Fray Angel de Salazar over all the friars and nuns of the reform throughout Castille and Andalucia. Fray Angel, though himself of the old observance, was not unfriendly to the reform, and wept for joy at the sight of the holy and austere lives led therein. He could not visit Andalucia in person because of his failing health, but he made Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, then prior of Seville, his delegate there, and in every way favoured the reform of S. Teresa, whom he had known so long.

Having been thus far delivered from the dangers that threatened to overwhelm them, the friars of the reform

resolved, with the agreement of the assessors of the nuncio, that it was desirable to sever themselves from the friars of the mitigation, but to continue nevertheless under the same general. The nuncio after some hesitation, for he had another plan, consented—it was on the 15th of July of this year—and Fray Juan de Jesus was sent to Rome to arrange the conditions of the new order. It was a work of some difficulty, but it was done, and the Sovereign Pontiff, Gregory XIII, in a brief dated 22nd June 1580, confirmed and sanctioned the severance of the mitigation from the reform. All the friars and all the nuns under the primitive rule and of the reform of S. Teresa were to form one province under a provincial of their own, but under the father-general of the whole order.

In 1581, by order of His Holiness, the priors of the reform were summoned to Alcalá de Henares by the apostolic commissary Fray Juan Velasquez de las Cuevas, prior of the Dominican monastery in Talavera. The monition was issued 1st Feb. 1581, and the fathers assembled in Alcalá on the 3rd March, when the final severance of the old friars and the new was published in due form. On the 6th Fray Juan held a chapter for the election of the provincial, in which the fathers were divided between Fray Jerome of the Mother of God and Fray Antonio of Jesus, the first who professed the reform. The former was elected, but he had only one voice in his favour more than Fray Antonio had. He had been elected provincial in the chapter of Almodovar, and the fathers probably did not wish to be unfriendly to him now.

S. Teresa was at the time in Palencia making her foundation there; even before the separation she had resumed her work, for Fray Angel de Salazar, whom the nuncio had set over the reform, had given her leave, in January 1580, to found a monastery in Villanueva de la Jara. Throughout the persecution, even when her work

was on the point of being undone, and when Fray Jerome and others were almost without hope, the Saint never lost her confidence in God. In 1577, when the nuncio Monsignore Ormaneto was dead, and the new nuncio was so angry with her, and thought so ill both of her and of her work, she wrote, by direction of Fray Jerome, the *Interior Castle*, beginning it on the feast of the Most Holy Trinity, 2nd June, and finishing it in Avila about the end of November in the same year.

Don Diego de Yepes, one of her biographers, says that he saw her in Toledo when the storm was most violent, and when Fray Mariano was losing heart, and Fray Jerome almost despairing of success. He found the former one day with the Saint speaking of their troubles, and reading a letter from Fray Jerome, discouraging and sad : the Saint was not troubled in the slightest degree, and after a moment or two said, ' We have much to suffer, but the order will not be destroyed.' She had nothing to reproach herself with, for she had always acted under obedience. She had never once done anything which she was not bound to do. The father-general of the order had bidden her make ' as many foundations as she had hairs on her head ' ; and if she went to Andalucia against his will, though that is doubtful, it was not her fault, for she was sent thither by her superior, the apostolic visitor of Castille, Fray Pedro Fernandez. Moreover, she did not then know that Veas was in the province of Andalucia.

Once in Andalucia, she was under the jurisdiction of Fray Jerome of the Mother of God ; and he it was who sent her to Seville. She could not disobey him, for he had powers from the nuncio, and was therefore in the place of the general of the whole order.

The friars, also, were never disobedient in making the foundations, for the Saint had authority from the general to found two houses in Castille, which were Duruelo and Pastrana. The third, Alcalá de Henares, was founded

with the general's sanction, asked for and obtained by Don Ruy Gomez, duke of Pastrana, who was a friend of the order and of the Saint. The other foundations were made with the consent and approval of the apostolic visitors, both in Castille and Andalucia. It is true the general forbade any foundations to be made in the latter province, but that prohibition was not binding on the Pope, and therefore not on those who wielded his authority over the friars of Carmel. The first chapter held in Almodovar was held by lawful authority, but the second, held in October 1578, was not justified in the eyes of S. John of the Cross and Fray Juan of Jesus. Others, too, may have disapproved of it, but kept silence for the sake of peace.

The reform of S. Teresa was now established with the approbation of the Sovereign Pontiff. The order was under the immediate government of Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, in whom she had perfect confidence, but in whom the friars, who owed everything to her, had very little. The great work was done which she never contemplated when she founded the monastery of S. Joseph, and which was brought about, in a certain sense, against her wish, for she never intended to found an order. Her labours were not over when peace was made between the friars of the mitigation and those of the reform, for she founded monasteries in Soria and Burgos, and sent Anne of Jesus with S. John of the Cross to make the foundation in Granada. As her days were drawing to a close her labours increased, for she was compelled to go from one monastery to another, settling what required settling, without rest, till she reached Alba de Tormes, 20th September 1582, being then on the point of death. Fray Dominic Bañes, her confessor, used to say that he longed to see her in her grave, because of the great risks to which such perfect holiness as hers was constantly exposed. The time was now come, and on the eve of the feast of S. Francis, lover of poverty, the



Saint begged that she might receive the viaticum, having made her confession the day before to Fray Antonio of Jesus, the first friar of her reform. Fray Jerome was absent from the province at the time, and Fray Antonio was there as his vicar, and the superior of the Saint. While the viaticum was being brought to her cell she said to the nuns around her, 'O my children and my mistresses (*señoras*), forgive me the bad example I give you ; do not take me for your teacher, for I have been the greatest sinner in the world, and the worst observer of the rule and constitutions. I entreat you, my children, for the love of God, to keep them perfectly, and to be obedient to your superiors.' Then the Most Holy Sacrament was brought into her cell, and she, who since her illness had become so severe had been unable to move in her bed, rose up without help from any one, and said, 'O my Lord, the longed-for hour has come at last : now we shall see one another. O my Lord, it is time to go. Thy will be done. The hour of my departure from exile is come, when my soul shall be glad in Thee.' Then, as if pleading for herself, she added, 'But I am a child of the Church.' She repeated further some of the verses of the *Miserere*, and received our Lord into her soul.

This was about five o'clock on the 3rd of October ; about nine she asked for the last Sacrament, and made the responses, and again gave God thanks that she was a child of the Catholic Church. Then Fray Antonio asked her whether she was to be buried in Avila, of which monastery she was the prioress, or in Alba de Tormes. She answered, as if the question had been displeasing to her, 'Can I have anything of my own ? Will they not give me here a little earth ?' The night was painful, and at seven o'clock the next morning, on the feast of S. Francis, she began to lie on one side, with her head on the shoulders of the Venerable Anne of S. Bartholomew, and the crucifix in her hand ; she remained so for fourteen hours, insensible

to all that passed around her, absorbed in God in her last ecstasy. Between nine and ten o'clock that night God took her to Himself for ever.

The *Book of the Foundations* was written at different times. It was begun in Salamanca, 24th Aug. 1573, by the order of father Ripalda, S.J., her confessor at the time. She seems to have written twenty chapters without much interruption. Then, when she was, as it were, imprisoned in Toledo by order of the general, after the foundation of Seville was made, she was commanded by Fray Jerome of the Mother of God to continue her writing. She obeyed, beginning with ch. xxi., and brought her work down to the end of ch. xxvii., which she finished on the vigil of S. Eugenius, 14th Nov. 1576. The rest of the book was probably written as each foundation was made.

Fray Luis de Leon at the request of Ven. Anne of Jesus and the Superiors of the Discalced Carmelites published the writings of the Saint in the year 1588, in Salamanca, but without the *Book of the Foundations*. The Saint had been dead only six years, and it is probable enough that some hesitation might be felt about printing a book in which people then living were spoken of; but in 1610 the former, then prioress at Brussels, undertook, with the assistance of Father Jerome Gratian, then also in Flanders, the publication of this important work, which appeared in that year at Roger Velpius, and Hubert Antoine's at Brussels. In addition to the text of the Saint—with which, however, Father Gratian had taken undue liberties—it contains the relation of the foundation of the convent of Granada by Ven. Anne of Jesus, and some other documents. But there was also a notable omission. Doña Casilda de Padilla whose history Saint Teresa had told so strikingly in Chapters X and XI was then still living, though no longer among the Teresian nuns; she had joined the Poor Clares and was abbess at Burgos; her sister, too, Doña Luisa de Padilla, having

obtained a dispensation enabling her to recover her property, and to contract marriage, was still alive. Under these circumstances it was thought wise to omit all reference to them with the result that this as well as other Spanish editions and many translations (for instance, the English by Canon Dalton) appeared in a mutilated form. Other editions followed at Saragossa in 1623, by the Calced Carmelites, at Antwerp in 1630, etc. Mr Lewis followed that of Vicente de la Fuente (1860). But all doubts as to the correct text have been finally set at rest by the publication, in 1880, of the photo-lithographic edition of the original manuscript which is preserved at the Escorial together with those of the *Life*, the first version of the *Way of Perfection*, and the *Visitation of Nunneries*. In the present edition the text published by Mr Lewis in 1871 has been confronted with the original, and, where necessary, amended. In England the *Book of Foundations* was not known till 1669. At that time there existed already two translations of the *Life*, and a third one was in preparation. The translators, Abraham Woodhead and his anonymous collaborator together with Father Bede of S. Simon Stock (Walter Joseph Travers) decided to begin their edition with the *Book of Foundations* which appeared under the title

The second Part of the Life of the Holy Mother St Teresa of Jesus ; or, the History of her Foundations. Written by Her Self. Whereunto are annexed Her Death ; Burial ; and the Miraculous Incorruption, and Fragrancy of Her Body. Together with Her Treatise Of the Manner of Visiting the Monasteries of Discalced Nuns. Printed in the Year MDCLXIX.

Although translated from the Spanish it follows the Italian editions in that it begins by the chapters of the *Life* relating to the foundation of the convent of S. Joseph of Avila, in which are incorporated the Rule and Constitutions of the nuns, and an account of the Deserts or

Hermitages of the friars taken from Don Diego de Yepes, bishop of Tarassona. The numbering of the chapters does not agree with the original or with the present edition, five chapters being taken over from the *Life*, while two chapters bear the same number. But otherwise the edition is complete, including the story of Doña Casilda, and the foundation of Granada.

In 1853, another translation was published by the Very Reverend John Dalton, canon of Northampton, the title of which is as follows :

Book of the Foundations. Written by S. Teresa.  
Translated from the Spanish by Rev. John Dalton.  
Embellished with a portrait of the Saint. London,  
1853. Reprinted in 1893.

The latest translation is due to the Rev. Mother Superior of the Community of the Holy Family, and is dedicated to Bishop Gore :

Saint Teresa. The History of her foundations.  
Translated from the Spanish by Sister Agnes Mason,  
C.H.F. with a Preface by the Rt. Hon. Sir E. M.  
Satow, G.C.M.G. Cambridge, at the University  
Press, 1909.

This elegant and faithful translation is adorned with an excellent map and beautiful illustrations which, however, are not always to the point. It does not contain the foundation of Granada.

A most interesting and valuable work appeared at Ghent in 1894, under the title *L'Espagne thérésienne, ou pèlerinage à un Flamand à toutes les fondations de Sainte-Thérèse* (also in Spanish, 1898). The author, Mr Hye Hoys, a painter, while travelling in Spain in 1866, visited all the foundations made by S. Teresa, collecting sketches not only of the convents themselves but also of many objects used by her and religiously preserved as relics. The work contains thirty engraved plates with explanatory notes. The present writer who has had the privilege of seeing most of these convents and visiting the scenes of

S. Teresa's labours can bear testimony to the accuracy of the designs.

The latest edition of the works of S. Teresa in French entitled *Oeuvres complètes de Sainte Térèse de Jésus*, by the Carmelite nuns of the *premier monastère de Paris*, (now at Anderlecht near Brussels), 6 vols., Paris, 1907-1910, of which vols. 3 and 4 are devoted to the *Book of Foundations*, is particularly valuable on account of the abundance of critical and biographical notes, and a rich collection of documents, many of which were not previously known. While freely and gratefully utilising these we have felt it difficult to resist the temptation of incorporating in this volume collateral accounts of the labours of the Saint, and documents illustrative of her trials and troubles. On the other hand we have drawn on a collection of documents not hitherto published, made by ourself during a prolonged journey through Italy and Spain. It will, therefore, be noticed that this second edition of Mr Lewis' splendid translation is more accurate and more complete than the first which appeared in 1871.

The *Carmelite Rule* is translated and placed in this volume as it is in the edition of Don Vicente, for the purpose of throwing light on the *Constitutions* of the Saint. The rule was drawn up in the beginning for friars, not for nuns, and therefore the rule printed in this volume, as it was taken from the book which Don Vicente had from the monastery of the venerable Maria of Jesus in Alcalá de Henares, is an adaptation of the rule of the friars to the condition of nuns. The compiler of it changed the word 'friars' into 'nuns,' and, making the necessary changes in the text, fashioned the rule to the use of the Carmelite nuns. The preface, however, has not been changed, and the rule is addressed still to Brocardo and the friars, while the first paragraph speaks of nuns. It is probably an oversight that Brocardo is mentioned again in § 15, and that the paragraph remains



unchanged, the words ‘office of prior’ not being altered into ‘office of prioress.’

The *Constitutions* are frequently referred to by the Saint in the *Book of the Foundations*, and in her letters ; and even on her deathbed she begs her children to observe them carefully. They must have been written soon after she began to live in her new house in Avila, for the nuns in Avila were governed by them, as we learn from her in her account of the foundation of her second monastery, which was Medina del Campo. She was directed by our Lord on one occasion to take the rule and constitutions with her, and had before that urged them as a difficulty not to be overcome, when her friend Doña Luisa de la Cerda seems to have proposed something to her which she would not sanction nor allow.

The *Constitutions* printed in this volume were obtained by Don Vicente de la Fuente from the monastery of the Picture in Alcalá de Henares, and are said to have been given by the general of the order in 1568 ; but that is clearly not true in the letter. In the first place the Saint in 1567 speaks of the constitutions as being then in force in Avila, and in the second place the general of Carmel had no jurisdiction over the monastery of the venerable Maria of Jesus in Alcalá de Henares. S. Teresa went in November 1567 to that monastery, and gave it her own constitutions, which, no doubt, she had shown to the general when he visited her in Avila in April of that year. The general, also, approved of them, and ordered them to be followed in subsequent foundations for he had no jurisdiction then over that of S. Joseph’s at Avila which was subject to the bishop of the diocese, Don Alvaro de Mendoza. Perhaps the venerable Maria of Jesus adopted the constitutions in 1567, when the Saint was there. The constitutions of that monastery were approved of by the archduke Albert, cardinal archbishop of Toledo, and ordered by him to be observed under the penalties

imposed by them, being, as he says, 'the very constitutions which the Mother Teresa of Jesus, founder of the said order of barefooted Carmelites, made in her lifetime for the government of the same.'

Don Vicente has not been able to find the original MS. of the Saint's constitutions, and has therefore printed those of the monastery of Alcalá, about the genuineness of which there can be no reasonable doubt.

The *Visitation of the Nunneries*, the manuscript of which is at the Escorial has been reproduced in photo-lithography by Don Francisco Herrero-Bayona, Valladolid, 1883. It appears to have been written in August or September 1576 at the request of Father Jerome-Gratian, then provincial of the Discalced Carmelites by the authority of the nuncio.

The Relation of the foundation of the convent of Granada by Ven. Anne of Jesus is printed in *Obras de Santa Teresa de Jesús* edited by Don Vicente de la Fuente, 1881, t. vi, 113, sqq. In translating it we had the assistance of the Benedictine nuns of Stanbrook. The *Maxims of S. Teresa*, which will be found in the first edition of Mr Lewis' translation of the *Book of Foundations*, p. 347, have been transferred to another volume of her works as they belong to her devotional rather than to her historical writings.

This introduction is for the most part Mr Lewis' own work, only such additions having been made (pp. xxiii-xxx) as were necessitated by the discovery of new documents which throw fresh light on the story of S. Teresa's foundations.

FEAST OF S. TERESA, 1871.

21st March, 1912.

## ANNALS OF THE SAINT'S LIFE

*For the earlier part see Life, Introduction p. xxxvii.*

- 1565.—Fray Garcia of Toledo directs her to ask leave of the provincial for the commutation of her vow. The provincial, Fray Angel de Salazar, empowers Fray Garcia to do what was necessary.

The Saint is greatly distressed by scruples about her spiritual state. She applies to the inquisitor Soto [*Relation* vii. 8], who recommends her to send an account of her life to Juan of Avila. She completes her *Life*, in May or June, and begins the *Way of Perfection*.

- 1566.—The father-general of the order of Carmel, Fray Juan Bautista Rubeo, arrives in Spain 13th May, and holds a chapter at Seville.

- 1567.—The general visits the Saint in her monastery, and receives her back into the order as his subject. He authorises her to make other foundations of nuns, and two of friars, 27th April, 16th May and 16th August.

On the feast of the Assumption the Saint founds a monastery in Medina del Campo where she remains to the end of October.

That done, she goes to Madrid, and is lodged in the house of Doña Leonor de Mascareñas [ch. iii]. She left Madrid, 25th November, and went to Alcalá de Henares for the purpose of visiting and settling the monastery of the venerable Maria of Jesus. She remains two months in Alcalá.

She meditates the foundation of houses of friars of her reform, Fray Antonio de Heredia and S. John of the Cross having offered themselves as a beginning.

She had received the offer of a house near Valladolid from Don Bernardino de Mendoza for a monastery there, but could not accept it at once, because she had promised to make a foundation in Malagon.

1568.—The General approves the Constitutions of the nuns. In February she goes to Toledo to her friend Doña Luisa de la Cerda, the foundress of the house in Malagon, and in Lent leaves Toledo for Malagon, where she makes the foundation on Palm Sunday, 11th April [ch. ix. 5].

She remains two months in Malagon, and on 19th May departs for Toledo, which she reaches bowed down with sickness.

28th May, she sets out for Escalona to see the marchioness of Villena, at the request of Fray Garcia of Toledo.

She writes to Doña Luisa de la Cerda to ask her to send the MS. of her *Life* to Juan of Avila in all haste, which she had left with her for that purpose. F. Bañes had written to her for it, and asked her to send it to him as soon as she returned to Avila—Letter of 27th May;—returns to Avila, 2nd June.

A house in Duruelo is offered her by Don Rafael Mejia Velasquez for a monastery of friars which she visits in July.

10th August, she arrives in Valladolid to make the foundation for which Don Bernardino de Mendoza had given her a house [ch. x. 3], and the monastery is founded on the feast of the Assumption.

Juan of Avila approves of her book, and writes to her a letter, dated 12th September, from Montilla.

The first monastery of friars founded in Duruelo, and the first mass said there conventually on Advent Sunday, 28th November [ch. xiv. 5].

In December she prepares for the foundation in Toledo.

1569.—She leaves Valladolid, and visits Duruelo the second time on her way to Avila. In March she sets out for Toledo, attended by the priest Gonzalo de Aranda and the two nuns Isabel of S. Dominic and Isabel of S. Paul, ch. xv. 3.

She arrives in Madrid ; the king sent for her, but she had then left for Toledo, where she arrives 24th March. Meanwhile the nuns in Valladolid leave their monastery because of its unhealthiness, and take a house within the city.

Juan of Avila dies, 12th April, from whom she receives a consoling letter shortly before that day.

28th May. She receives a message from the prince and princess of Eboli concerning the foundation to be made in Pastrana.

She leaves Toledo on Monday in Whitsun week, 30th May, and in Madrid is lodged in the monastery of the Franciscan nuns.

Makes the acquaintance there of Mariano of S. Benedict, the hermit, who enters the order of Carmel with his companion, Juan de la Miseria.

9th July, she takes possession, after much discussion with the princess of Eboli, of the monastery in Pastrana.

13th July, is founded the second monastery of the friars in the same place by permission of the General.

The princess of Eboli, after much importunity, obtains possession of the Saint's *Life*. She ridicules the book, and allows her servants to see it though she had promised to keep it secret.

21st July. The Saint returns to Toledo, where she remains for a year, but visits at times the monasteries of Medina del Campo, Valladolid, and Pastrana.

1570.—Father Martin Gutierrez, rector of the house of the Society in Salamanca, writes to her 17th January, asking her to found a monastery there [ch. xviii. 1].



The nuns in Toledo remove to a better house in the ward of S. Nicholas [ch. xv. 17].

In July she sees in a vision the martyrdom of father Ignatius de Azevedo and others, forty Jesuits ; they were murdered by Soria, protestant and pirate, and friend of Coligni. Among the martyrs was a kinsman of the Saint.

10th July. She is in Pastrana, present at the profession of Ambrosio Mariano and Juan de la Miseria.

The following day the friars of Duruelo remove to Mancera.

She returns to Toledo, and to Avila in August.

The bishop of Salamanca grants permission for the foundation of her monastery.

The Saint arrives in Salamanca on the eve of All Saints.

The third monastery of friars [Duruelo merged in Mancera] is founded on the feast of All Saints in Alcalá de Henares by permission of the General and the seventh of nuns on the same day in Salamanca [ch. xix. 2].

At the end of the year the Saint is asked to make a foundation in Alba de Tormes.

1571. The foundation made in Alba de Tormes, 25th Jan. [ch. xx. 12].

The Saint returns to Salamanca, and is there at the end of March. She now spent some time in the house of the Count of Monterey.

She goes to Avila from Salamanca, and is ordered by her superiors to accept the priorate of the Incarnation [ch. xix. 6]. She renounces the mitigated Rule. Father Fernandez makes supplementary Constitutions for the nuns.

21st Nov. Foundation of the convent of Altomira by leave of the General.

She enters on her office in October, and remains prioress for three years.

1572. 19th Jan. The Saint sees our Lady in the stall of the prioress [*Relation* iii. 16]. The nuns of the Incarnation amend their ways, and the Saint rebukes the insolence of those who paid visits to the religious.

25th March. Fray Jerome Gratian of the Mother of God takes the habit in Pastrana.

April, foundation of La Roda by permission of the General ; some convents in Andalusia accept the reform of S. Teresa.

The seeds of discord are sown between the old friars and the reformed.

In May S. John of the Cross made confessor to the nuns of the Incarnation.

Great graces bestowed on the Saint while in the monastery of the Incarnation : the mystical betrothal : and the ecstasy in the parlour while speaking to S. John of the Cross.

The spiritual challenge from the friars of Pastrana.

1573. In February she goes to Alba.

The Saint 11th June writes to King Philip II on the affairs of the order.

In May and June foundations of Granada and Peñuela of the friars without the General's permission.

Writes to Father Ordoñez, S.J., on the subject of a school for young girls in Medina del Campo, 27th July.

She sets out for Salamanca, with the provincial's leave, to arrange the transfer of her community there to a new house.

At the end of the month the princess of Eboli goes to Pastrana, and establishes herself as a nun in the Carmelite monastery there [ch. xvii. 14, *note*].

In Salamanca her confessor, Father Jerome Ripalda, bids her write the history of her foundations. She begins to write 24th August.

While in Salamanca she is asked to make a foundation in Veas.

Our Lord bids her make a foundation in Segovia [ch. xxi. 1].

About the beginning of September the two fathers, Gratian and Mariano, set out for Andalucia from Pastrana, the former receives patents as Visitor Apostolic.

1574. 5th January foundation of the convent of Seville of friars without leave from the general.

The Saint goes to Alba de Tormes from Salamanca.

She is in the former place 8th Feb., and stays two days in the house of the duchess of Alba.

Notwithstanding her bodily illness and spiritual distress she proceeds to Segovia through Medina del Campo and Avila, and arrives there 18th March. The next day, on the feast of S. Joseph, the foundation is made. She dissolves the monastery of Pastrana and receives the nuns in Segovia [ch. xvii. 15, note].

She writes the *Conceptions on the Love of God*.

The book of her *Life* is delated to the inquisitors the first time [ch. xvii. 12, note].

Doña Casilda de Padilla enters the monastery of Valladolid. Death of Isabel of the Angels.

She purchases the house of Diego Porraz in Segovia, which results in lawsuits with the chapter and the monasteries there. Towards the end of September she removes her nuns to the new house, and on the 1st of October goes back to Avila.

6th Oct. She resigns the place of prioress in the monastery of the Incarnation, and returns to her own house of S. Joseph where she is elected prioress.

She goes again to Valladolid to make certain arrangements about the reception of Doña Casilda de Padilla.

1575. In the beginning of the year she returns to Avila, and, having rested awhile, goes through Toledo, Malagon, and Almodovar to Veas. In

Almodovar she foretold the virtues of the blessed John Baptist of the Conception, the reformer of the Trinitarians.

She makes her tenth foundation of nuns in Veas on the feast of S. Mathias, 24th Feb. Sees there for the first time Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, who was on his way to Madrid.

7th March. The house of the friars founded in Almodovar del Campo with leave of the general.

The Saint sets out for Seville, being at the time unwell ; with many difficulties on the road, and much opposition in Seville. The foundation there is made on the feast of the Most Holy Trinity, 29th May.

21st May. The general chapter of the order is held in Piacenza, where it was resolved to deal sharply with the friars of S. Teresa's reform.

23rd May. She makes a vow of obedience to Father Jerome (*Relation* vi.)

The Saint writes a long letter to the general.

About the middle of August her brother Lorenzo arrives at Seville from South America.

21st Nov. Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, by delegation of the nuncio, visits the friars in Seville of the old observance, who resist his authority.

Fray Angel de Salazar, provincial of Castille, bids the Saint make no more foundations, and orders her further to withdraw into any one of her monasteries, and there to remain. She proposes to withdraw to Valladolid at once, leaving the foundation of Seville in its troubles, but Fray Jerome bids her stay for the present where she is.

1576. The foundation of Caravaca made 1st Jan., while the Saint was in Seville, searching for a house, and waiting for the licence of the archbishop.

She writes to the father-general explaining her acts, and those of Fray Jerome of the Mother of God and Fray Mariano. She tells him also how

they and herself were about to be harassed, and that false accusations were brought against them. She is delated to the inquisition at this time by a weak sister who left her monastery.

She buys a house at last, helped by her brother Don Lorenzo. In the beginning of May the new house is occupied by her and her sisters.

Fray Juan de la Miseria paints the portrait of the Saint.

4th June. She sets out for Toledo, where she was to stay according to the order of the general. She is in Malagon with her brother on the 11th, and in the beginning of July reaches Toledo. Before she is settled there she goes to her monastery in Avila, by order of Fray Jerome, and hastens back to Toledo with the Venerable Anne of S. Bartholomew, who is to be her companion and secretary. 9th August, she is settled in Toledo. She is now asked to make a foundation in Villanueva de la Jara.

The friars of the observance hold a chapter in Moraleja 12th May, and make decrees against the reform of S. Teresa. The friars of the reform hold a chapter in Almodovar, 8th Sept., and there some of their brethren are deputed to go to Rome to save the reform.

In Toledo the Saint continues the *Book of the Foundations* as far as ch. xxvii, adding to it the account of the foundations of Segovia, Veas, Seville, and Caravaca, and writes the *Visitation of the Nunneries*. She ceases to write about the middle of November.

The foundations are interrupted, none being made for more than four years, owing to the troubles arising out of the quarrel between the friars of the old observance and those of the Saint's reform [ch. xxviii. 1].

She confesses in Toledo to Dr Velasquez, afterwards bishop of Osma.



The nuns of Malagon are in trouble, and it is discussed whether it would not be better to remove the nuns of Veas to Granada.

Grievous charges are falsely brought against the Saint, and the friars of the old observance think of sending her to a monastery in India.

About the end of October some of the Saint's nuns in Seville are sent to reform the nuns of the old observance in Paterna, where they remain until the feast of S. Barbara, 1577.

1st Dec. the convent of Peñuela is transferred to *El Calvario*.

A foundation in Aguilar de Campos is offered to the Saint 7th December.

During the year the Saint wrote many important letters.

1577. 24th March. The celebrated Fray Nicholas of Jesus Maria (Doria) enters the order of Carmel.

The nuns of Veas and Caravaca involved in lawsuits.

2nd June. She begins to write the *Interior Castle*.

18th June, the nuncio Monsignore Ormaneto dies, to the great grief of the Saint, for he had always defended her reform.

In July she goes to Avila, and places her monastery there under the jurisdiction of the order: it had been hitherto under the bishop.

In August the new nuncio, Monsignore Philip Segá, arrives at Madrid.

Gross falsehoods put forth against the friars and nuns of the reform by two friars who abandoned it—Fray Miguel de la Columna and Fray Baltasar de Jesus.

Monsignor Segá deals severely with the friars of the reform, and the Saint begs the king to help her.

8th Octob. Fray Miguel repents, and recants all he had said.

The nuns of the Incarnation, notwithstanding the threats of their superiors, elect as their prioress S. Teresa.

About the end of November the book of the *Interior Castle* is finished.

In the night of 3rd December, S. John of the Cross and his fellow confessor and chaplain of the Incarnation are taken to prison by the friars of the old observance. The former is cruelly treated by his brethren in Toledo.

On Christmas Eve the Saint is thrown down and breaks her arm.

1578.—F. Salazar, S.J., wishes to become a Carmelite friar, and S. Teresa writes to father Suarez, provincial of the society.

The nuncio becomes more severe with the friars.

In the beginning of May, Fray Jerome Tostado returns to Portugal, and the saint is more at ease.

The royal council interferes with the jurisdiction of the nuncio, and forbids the friars of the reform to obey him, 9th August.

The father-general of the order, Fray Juan Bautista Rubeo, dies 4th September.

9th October. The chapter of Almodovar is held, in which the friars of the reform, with doubtful right, form themselves into a distinct province, and elect for their provincial Fray Antonio of Jesus.

The nuncio is made angry by this proceeding: he quashes the acts of the chapter, and imprisons the chief friars. He bids S. Teresa to remain in Toledo, and speaks harshly of her and her work.

Towards the end of the year the monastery of Seville is disturbed by the indiscretion of the confessor, and on the prioress attempting to check him he carries accusations against her and the Saint before the tribunal of the inquisition. The inquisitors examine, and find the accused innocent.

Fray Pedro of the Angels and Fray Juan of San Diego proceed to Rome on behalf of their brethren of the reform, but the former in Naples reveals all to the vicar-general of the order, and on his arrival in Spain returns to the friars of the mitigation.

During this year the Saint is in Avila.

The book of her *Life* is again delated to the inquisitors.

1579.—In the beginning of the year the order begins to have a little more rest.

In the beginning of February the nuncio consents to receive four assessors to judge the affairs of the friars of the reform with him [ch. xxviii. 4, note 10].

1st April. The nuncio makes Fray Angel de Salazar of the mitigation visitor of the friars of the reform.

The two fathers, Fray Juan of Jesus and Fray Diego of the Trinity, go from Avila, disguised as laymen, to Rome, in order to obtain the severance of the friars of S. Teresa's reform from those of the mitigation. In May they embark at Alicante for Naples.

6th June. The Saint writes the four instructions which God gave her for the preservation and growth of the order. (*Relation* x.)

14th June. Foundation of the convent of friars at Baeza.

23rd June. She sets out from Avila to visit her monasteries, remains a few days in Malagon, and arrives on the 3rd of July in Valladolid, where she stays till the 30th.

15th July. The nuncio proposes the separation of the friars of the reform from those of the mitigation.

22nd July. She writes to Don Teutonio de Braganza, archbishop of Evora to whom she had sent a copy of her *Way of Perfection* the week before, that he might get it printed.

30th July. The Saint goes from Valladolid to

Medina, where she remains three or four days ; then to Alba de Tormes, where she stays a week. She then goes to Salamanca, where she remains some two months and a half.

Fray Angel de Salazar relieves her of the burden of the priorate of Malagon, but insists on her visiting the monastery.

In the beginning of November she returns to Avila, and goes thence, notwithstanding her illness and the severity of the weather, to Malagon. She was five days in reaching Toledo.

25th Nov. She reaches Malagon, and on the feast of the Immaculate Conception the nuns remove to their new house.

She consents to make the foundation in Villanueva de la Jara.

1580.—Fra Angel de Salazar, 28th Jan., gives the Saint authority to make the foundation in Villanueva.

13th Feb. She departs from Malagon, and arrives in Villanueva on the first Sunday in Lent. The devout ladies there waiting for her receive the habit, 25th February.

She leaves Villanueva, and arrives in Toledo 25th March, and is struck by paralysis.

She recovers by degrees, and visits the cardinal archbishop, who tells her that her book is in the holy office, but that no fault can be found with it.

22nd May. Fra Giovanni Battista Cafardo, who had governed the order since the death of father Rubeo as vicar by the order of the Pope, is elected father-general.

The Saint remains in Toledo till 7th June, then, by order of Fray Angel de Salazar, goes to Valladolid. She is in Segovia 13th June.

22nd June. His Holiness Gregory XIII issues the bulls for the formation of a distinct province of the friars of the reform.

28th June. Death of the Saint's brother Don Lorenzo.

The Saint is obliged to go to Avila to arrange the affairs of her brother.

In the beginning of August she sets out from Avila to Medina del Campo with her nephew and Fray Jerome of the Mother of God ; then to Valladolid, where she is very ill, and believed to be dying [ch. xxix. 1].

She is asked when somewhat better to make a foundation in Palencia, and by direction of her confessor, F. Ripalda, S.J., notwithstanding her broken health, consents.

The archbishop of Burgos gives leave to found a house in his cathedral city [ch. xxxi. 1].

She leaves Valladolid for Palencia on the feast of the Holy Innocents, and the foundation is made on the feast of David the King [28th Dec. ; ch. xxix. 9] in a hired house.

1581.—1st Feb. The apostolic commissary, Fray Juan de las Cuevas, of the order of S. Dominic, summons the friars of the reform to Alcalá de Henares, and by authority of His Holiness constitutes them a province apart from the friars of the mitigation, 3rd March.

Fray Jerome of the Mother of God is in the chapter elected the first provincial of the reform of S. Teresa.

4th May. The house of the friars of the reform founded in Valladolid, and another, 1st June, in Salamanca.

The nuns of Palencia remove from the hired house to that bought by the Saint near the hermitage of our Lady of the Street [ch. xxix. 22].

Towards the end of May the Saint goes from Palencia to Soria, where she arrives 2nd June, and on the following day founds the fifteenth monastery of her reform.



She makes an effort to found a house in Madrid, as she had been doing for some time.

She makes Catherine of Christ prioress of Soria, and on the 16th of August sets out for Avila. In Burgo de Osma she meets Don Diego de Yepes, and receives communion from his hands.

23rd August. She is in Segovia, in Villacastin 4th September, and the next day in Avila.

The monastery of S. Joseph had fallen away, and was spiritually and temporally a source of distress to the Saint. On her arrival the prioress resigns, and the community elect S. Teresa to fill her place, but she refuses till Fray Jerome of the Mother of God commands her to accept the burden.

1582.—2nd Jan. The Saint leaves Avila on her way to Burgos. She is in Medina del Campo on the 4th. On the 9th she sets out for Valladolid, where she remains four days. She then goes to Palencia, and from Palencia to Burgos, where she arrives, after a toilsome and dangerous journey, 26th Jan. [ch. xxxi. 18].

21st Jan. The Venerable Anne of Jesus arrived in Granada with S. John of the Cross to make the foundation there.

19th February. Foundation of the convent of friars at Lisbon.

The archbishop of Burgos makes it difficult for the Saint to found a house. She and her nuns are lodged for a time in the hospital of the Conception.

The archbishop, after many shiftings, yields at last and the monastery is founded 22nd April.

24th May. The monastery in Burgos is flooded, and the nuns are in great danger.

She leaves Burgos about the end of July for Palencia and Valladolid.

In Valladolid she is insulted by a lawyer, who

thinks that she has not dealt justly in the administration of her brother's affairs.

The prioress at Valladolid quarrels with her, and orders her to leave the monastery.

16th Sep. The Saint reaches Medina del Campo, where also the prioress turns against her. She goes away without food, and is extremely ill through weariness, and hunger. She and her companion, the Venerable Anne of S. Bartholomew, reach Peñaranda, where they can get nothing to eat, and the Saint is at the point of death.

She is not able to return to Avila, for the vicar of the province orders her to go at once to Alba de Tormes, the duchess of Alba being desirous of her presence.

She reaches Alba de Tormes, nearly dead, about six o'clock on the evening of 20th Sept. The next morning she does violence to herself, and goes down to the church for communion, and then returns to her bed, never to leave it alive.

She makes her confession to Fray Antonio of Jesus, and receives the viaticum and the last anointing, and on the feast of S. Francis, 4th October, dies in the arms of her companion, the Venerable Anne of S. Bartholomew, in the 68th year of her age.

On the next day, which, on account of the reform of the Calendar, was the 15th, she is buried under the choir grating.

1584. First exhumation of her body.

1585. 15th Oct. the body is removed from Alba to Avila.

1586. 23rd August. By order of the Pope it is brought back to Alba.

1587. 10th July. The Discalced Carmelites form a Congregation under a *Vicar-General*.

1591. The process of Beatification begun. 14th December, death of S. John of the Cross.

1592. 17th February. Expulsion of Father Jerome Gratian.
1593. Separation of the Orders of Calced and Discalced Carmelites.
1595. Compulsorial process of Beatification.
1604. Remissorial process, informations *in genere*.
1607. Informations *in specie*.
1614. 24th April. Beatification.  
21st September. Death of Father Jerome Gratian.
1622. 12th March. Canonisation of S. Teresa.
1750. 2nd Oct. Last opening of the sepulchre.



# BOOK OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF S. TERESA

*WRITTEN BY HERSELF*

## PROLOGUE

J. H. S.



1. Obedience.—2. The Saint is bidden to write.—3. She will be truthful.—4. Her plan.—5. The Saint makes excuses for herself.—6. Takes pains to be exact.

I. EXPERIENCE has shown me—setting that aside which I have read in many places—the great blessing it is for a soul never to withdraw from under obedience. Herein lie, in my opinion, growth in goodness and the gaining of humility. Herein lies our security amidst the doubts whether we are not straying from the heavenly road, which, as mortal men, it is right we should have while we are living here on earth. Herein is found that rest which is so dear to souls desirous of pleasing God ; for, if they have really resigned themselves to holy obedience, and have made their understanding captive thereto, seeking no other will but that of their confessor, and if religious that of their superior, Satan refrains from assailing them with his continual suspicions, seeing that he loses rather than gains thereby. Moreover, our restless movements, fond of having their own way, and even of making the reason subject to them in those things which can give us pleasure, cease, being reminded



that the will is definitely given up to the will of God, through that subjection of self to him who stands in His place. As His Majesty of His goodness has given me light to see the great treasure hidden in this priceless virtue, I have laboured, however weakly and imperfectly, to possess myself of it, though the work is often irksome, because of the little goodness I behold in myself; for I see that it does not reach to some things which I have been commanded to do. May His Divine Majesty supply my shortcomings in the work now before me!

2. In the year 1562—the very year in which this house of S. Joseph in Avila was founded—I was ordered, when in that house, by my confessor, the Dominican friar father Garcia of Toledo, to write the history of the foundation of the monastery, together with other matters, which any one, if it is ever published, may see. I am now in Salamanca, in the year 1573—eleven years have passed since then—and my confessor, the master Ripalda, father rector of the Society, has ordered me to write. He, having seen the book containing the story of the first foundation,<sup>1</sup> thought it would be a service done to our Lord if I committed to writing the story of the other seven<sup>2</sup> monasteries which, by the goodness of our Lord, have since that time been founded, and told at the same time how the monasteries of the barefooted fathers of the primitive rule began. While I was looking on it as a thing impossible for me, because of the many things I had to do—I had letters to write and matters to

<sup>1</sup> The history of the foundation of the monastery of S. Joseph in Avila begins with ch. xxxii. and ends ch. xxxvi. 13, of the *Life*.

<sup>2</sup> The seventh monastery was that of Alba de Tormes, and the history of that foundation is given in ch. xx.

transact, from which I could not release myself, because they were assigned me by the commandment of my superiors—and I was praying to God thereupon, and somewhat distressed, because I was able to do so little, and because my health was so weak—for even without this additional labour I seem very often, and I am naturally worthless, unable to bear my burden, our Lord said to me, ‘Child, obedience gives strength.’<sup>3</sup> May it please His Majesty it may be so, and may He give me grace to enable me to relate to His glory, the great things He hath done for the order in these foundations.

3. It may be held for certain that everything will be truly told, without any exaggeration whatever, to the best of my knowledge, exactly as it happened ; for in matters even of the least importance I would not tell a lie for anything on this earth.<sup>4</sup> In this my writing—to the praise of our Lord—an untruth would be a heavy burden on my conscience, and I should believe it to be not merely a wasting of time, but a deceiving of others in the things of God, who would be offended, not honoured, thereby : it would be an act of high treason. May it please His Majesty not to abandon me, that I may not fall into that evil.

4. Each foundation shall have its own story, and I shall try to be brief if I can ; but my style is so heavy, that even against my will I fear I shall be tedious to others and to myself. However, my daughters, to whom it is to be given when my days are ended, will be able to bear with it out of the love they have for me. May our Lord grant, for I seek nothing for myself, and have no right to do so, but only His praise and glory

<sup>3</sup> See *Life*, ch. xviii. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Life*, ch. xxviii. 6.

—for there are many things to be written here for which men should praise Him—that they who shall read it may be very far from attributing anything I have done to myself, for that would be against the truth ; let them rather pray to His Majesty to forgive me who have profited so little by all His mercies. My children have much more reason to complain of me herein than they have to thank me for what I have done. Let us give all our thanks, my children, to the Divine Goodness for the many graces He has given us. I ask, for the love of God, one Ave Maria of everyone who shall read this, that it may help me out of purgatory, and to arrive at the vision of Jesus Christ our Lord, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

5. I believe much that is very important will be left untold, because of the weakness of my memory ; and other things will be told which may well be forgotten : in a word, it will be all in keeping with my scanty abilities and dullness, and also with my little leisure for writing.

6. They bid me also, if I have the opportunity, to speak of prayer, and of the delusions incident thereto which keep men of prayer from making progress. I submit myself in everything to the teaching of the Holy Mother Church of Rome,<sup>5</sup> and am resolved that learned and spiritual men shall see it before it shall reach your hands, my sisters and my children.

I begin in the name of our Lord, invoking the help of His glorious Mother, whose habit I wear, though unworthy of it, and of my glorious father and lord,

<sup>5</sup> The word *Romana* added later, between the lines, but in the handwriting of the Saint.

S. Joseph, in whose house I am : for this monastery of barefooted nuns is under his protection, by whose prayers I am continually helped. In the year MDLXXIII, the twenty-fourth day of August, the feast of saint Lewis, king of France.

*Praise be to God.*

*Here beginneth the Foundation of S. Joseph of the  
Carmel of Medina del Campo*

## CHAPTER I

OF THE MEANS WHICH LED TO THE PLANNING OF THIS  
AND THE OTHER FOUNDATIONS

1. Praise of the Monastery of S. Joseph, Avila.—2. Obedience of the nuns.—3. Faith of one of the nuns.—4. The love of solitude.—5. The Saint's longing.—6. Fray A. Maldonado.—7. A Divine locution.

I. I REMAINED five years after its foundation in the house of S. Joseph, Avila, and I believe, so far as I can see at present, that they were the most tranquil years of my life, the calm and rest of which my soul very often greatly misses. During that time certain young persons entered it as religious, whose years were not many, but whom the world, as it seemed, had already made its own, if we might judge of them by their outward manners and dress. Our Lord very quickly set them free from their vanities, drew them into His own house, and endowed them with a perfection so great as to make me very much

ashamed of myself. We were thirteen in number, which is the number we had resolved never to exceed.<sup>1</sup> I took my delight in souls so pure and holy, whose only anxiety was to praise and serve our Lord. His Majesty sent us everything we had need of without our asking for it; and whenever we were in want, which was very rarely, their joy was then the greater. I used to praise our Lord at the sight of virtues so high, especially for the disregard of everything but His service.<sup>2</sup>

2. I, who was prioress there, do not remember that I ever had any thoughts about our necessities, for I was persuaded that our Lord would never fail those who had no other care but that of pleasing Him. And if now and then there was not sufficient food for us all, on my saying that what we had was for those who wanted it most, not one of them would think that she was in need; and so it remained till God sent enough for all. As for the virtue of obedience, for which I have a very great attraction—though I knew not how to observe it till these servants of God taught me, so that I could not be ignorant of it if there had been any goodness in me—I could tell much that I saw in them. One thing I remember, which is this: once in the refectory we had cucumbers given us for our portions, and to me a very small one, rotten within. Pretending not to be aware of this, I called a sister,<sup>3</sup> one of the most able and sensible in the house,

<sup>1</sup> See *Life*, ch. xxxii. 16, especially the note, and ch. xxxvi. 31; *Way of Perfection*, ch. ii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See *Life*, ch. xxxix. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Maria Bautista, in the world Maria de Ocampo, the niece of the Saint, who was with her in the monastery of the Incarnation, and who offered a thousand ducats for the foundation of a house wherein greater strictness might be observed (*Life*, ch. xxxii. 13, xxxvi. 25). She was now a novice in S. Joseph's, and was afterwards prioress of Valladolid (*Reforma*, bk. i. ch. xxxv. 6, and ch. lii. 9.)



and, to try her obedience, told her to go and plant it in a little garden we had. She asked me whether it was to be planted endways or sideways. I told her sideways. She went and planted it, without thinking that it could not possibly fail to die. The fact that she was acting under obedience made her natural reason blind, so that she believed that what she did was perfectly right. I happened also to charge another with six or seven offices inconsistent with each other, all of which she accepted without saying a word, thinking it possible for her to discharge them.

3. We had a well, the water in which was very bad according to their account who tested it, out of which, because it was very deep, it seemed impossible to make the water flow. I sent for workmen to make a trial, who laughed at me because I was going to throw money away. I said to my sisters, 'What think you of it?' One of them answered, 'Let us try. Our Lord must find some one to supply us with water and give us wherewithal to support him; now, it will cost His Majesty less to find water for us in the house, and He will therefore not fail to do it.'<sup>4</sup> Considering the great faith and resolution with which she said this, I took it for granted it would be so, and had the work done, against the will of the well-sinker, who had experience of water. Our Lord was pleased, and we have a flow of water quite enough for us, and good to drink, to this day. I do not count this as a miracle—I could tell many other things—but I tell it to show the

<sup>4</sup> Maria Bautista, mentioned in the preceding note. The miraculous water flowed for eight years, and then, when the city of Avila supplied the monastery with water from another source, almost ceased (*Reforma*, bk. i. ch. liii. 1).

faith of the sisters, for the facts occurred as I am describing them, and because my chief purpose is not to praise the nuns of these monasteries, all of whom, by the goodness of our Lord, walk in the same path. It would be tedious to write of these and many other things, yet not unprofitable, for those who come in from time to time are hereby encouraged to follow in their steps. However, if our Lord will have it done, the superiors might order the prioresses to put them in writing.

4. I, wretch that I am, was living among these angelic souls. I think they were nothing less, for they concealed from me no fault, however interior; while the graces, the high desires, and detachment which our Lord gave them, were exceedingly great. Their joy was in being alone, and they assured me they were never long enough alone; and so they looked on it as a torment whenever any one came to see them, even though it were a brother. She who had the most opportunities of being alone in a hermitage considered herself the happiest.

5. Very often, when thinking of the great worth of these souls, and of the great courage—certainly a greater courage than that of women—which God gave them that they might bear suffering and serve Him, it would often strike me that it was for some great end that He gave them this wealth. But what came to pass afterwards never entered into my mind, for then it seemed impossible, because there was no reason in the world for imagining it; still, as time went on, my desires to do something for the good of some soul or other grew more and more, and very often I looked on myself as on one who, having great treasures in her keeping, wished all to have the benefit of it, but whose hands were restrained from distributing it. Accordingly it seemed to me that

my soul was in bonds, for the graces our Lord gave me during those years were very great, all of which seemed to be wasted in me. I waited on our Lord always with my poor prayers, and got my sisters to do the same, and to have a zeal for the good of souls, and for the increase of the Church : they always edified every one who conversed with them, and herein my great longings were satisfied.

6. After four years—I think a little more—there came to see me a Franciscan friar, father Maldonado,<sup>5</sup> a great servant of God, having the same desires that I had for the good of souls. He was able to carry his into effect, for which I envied him enough. He had just returned from the Indies. He began by telling me of the many millions of souls there perishing through the want of instruction, and preached us a sermon encouraging us to do penance, and then went his way. I was so distressed because so many souls were perishing that I could not contain myself. I went to one of the hermitages, weeping much, and cried unto our Lord, beseeching Him to show me, when the devil was carrying so many away, how I might do something

<sup>5</sup> Saint Teresa writes A<sup>o</sup> Maldonado which may stand either for *Alonso*, as her editors have thought, or for *Antonio*. The former belonging to the province of S. James of the Franciscan Order was Apostolic preacher and commissary general of the West Indies. He dedicated to Philip II a book written in Spanish for the defence of the Religious orders, entitled *Defensa de los Pequeños*. (*Oeuvres complètes de Sainte Térèse de Jésus*. Traduction nouvelle par les Carmélites du premier monastère de Paris. Paris, 1909, t. III., p. 58 n. 1). The latter was actually carrying on missionary work in the West Indies and had returned shortly before the interview took place. [Kindly communicated by Rev. Fr. Thaddeus, O.F.M.]

to gain a soul for His service, and how I might do something by prayer now that I could do nothing else. I envied very much those who for the love of our Lord could employ themselves in this work for souls, though they might suffer a thousand deaths. Thus, when I am reading in the lives of the saints how they converted souls, I have more devotion, more tenderness and envy, than when I read all the pains of martyrdom they underwent ; for this is an attraction which our Lord has given me ; and I think He prizes one soul which of His mercy we have gained for Him by our prayer and labour more than all the service we may render Him.

7. During this great distress I was one night in prayer, when our Lord appeared to me in His wonted manner, and shewed me great love, as if he wished to comfort ; He then said to me, ‘Wait a little, my child, and thou shalt see great things.’ These words were so impressed on my heart that I could not forget them ; and though I could not find out, after long thinking over them, what they could mean, and did not see any way even to imagine it, I was greatly comforted, and fully persuaded that the words would be found true ; but it never entered my imagination how they could be. Another six months went by—so I think and believe—and then that happened which I will now relate.

## CHAPTER II

HOW OUR FATHER GENERAL CAME TO AVILA AND WHAT  
HAPPENED IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIS VISIT

1. The General of the Carmelites arrives in Spain.—2. Is friendly to the Saint.—3. Authorises her to found more monasteries.—4. The bishop of Avila.—5. Authority for the foundation of two monasteries for men.—6. Difficulty of finding friars to begin the Reform.—7. Generosity of God.

I. OUR generals always reside in Rome, none of whom have been at any time in Spain,<sup>1</sup> and it seemed impossible they should come then; but, as there is nothing impossible if our Lord wills it, His Majesty ordained that what had never been done before should be done now. When I heard of it I think I was troubled because, as it is said in the history of the foundation of S. Joseph's, this house, for the reason there given, is not under the jurisdiction of the friars.<sup>2</sup> I was afraid of two things: one was that the general might be angry with me, and he had reason to be so,<sup>3</sup> not knowing how matters had come to pass; the other, that he might send

<sup>1</sup> Two generals had before this entered Spain and held chapters of the order: Fray Juan Alerio in Barcelona in the year 1324, and twenty years after, in 1354, Fray Raimundo de Grassa in Perpiñan; but these chapters were held only for the kingdom of Aragon, where the order was widely spread. This was the first time the general entered Castille, which is no doubt what the Saint means when she says that none of the generals ever came to Spain. (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. ii. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> See *Life*, ch. xxxvi. i.

<sup>3</sup> He was very angry certainly; not, however, with the Saint, but with the provincial, who had refused to accept the monastery. (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. ii. 4.)



me back to the monastery of the Incarnation<sup>4</sup> where the mitigated rule is observed : that would have been a sore discomfort to me, for many reasons which I need not relate.<sup>5</sup> One is enough : it would not have been possible for me to keep the primitive rule in its rigour there, for the nuns were more than a hundred and fifty in number, and there is more quiet and concord always where the nuns are few. Our Lord disposed it all far better than I thought, for the general is so great a servant of God, so prudent and learned, that he regarded it as a good work, and never showed me the least displeasure. He is Fray John Baptist Rubeo (Rossi) of Ravenna,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The general asked for the brief by which the removal of the Saint and two of her companions from the monastery of the Incarnation to the new foundation was authorised, and offered the Saint, when he saw the flaws in the process, to receive her back under the obedience of the order ; she knowing nothing of the irregularities that had been committed, willingly accepted the offer at once, and the general received her, but allowed her to remain in S. Joseph's ; he would not send her back to her old home in the Incarnation, nor would he ever allow anybody to do so (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. ii. 5).

<sup>5</sup> See *Life*, ch. xxxii. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Nicholaus Audet, elected General in 1524, died 6th December 1562, according to a note in the acts of the general chapters. The two religious who had the best chance of succeeding him being then at the Council of Trent, Pope Pius IV by Brief of 16th December 1562, nominated John Baptist Rossi (Rubeo, de Rubeis), of Ravenna Vicar-general until the general chapter convened for May, 1564 should elect a General. Rossi or Rubeo, who was descended from the counts of San Segundo, was born at Ravenna, 4th October 1507, his father's name being Dominic. At the age of seventeen he joined the Carmelite Order, and, after preliminary studies, was sent to the universities of Siena (1534) and Padua where he took the degree of Bachelor, 17th October 1536. Having spent ten years in reading and teaching divinity he obtained the doctor's cap in 1547, and was entrusted by Paul III with a chair at the Roman university called Sapienza. It appears that for a short time his teaching was somewhat suspected, which seems astonishing as he was orthodox almost to a fault. He remained in Rome fifteen years in the company of the general Audet,

a man most distinguished in the order, and justly so.

2. When he arrived in Avila<sup>7</sup> I contrived he should

and thus acquired an intimate knowledge of the affairs of the order. On Pentecost 1564 he was unanimously elected General. While as yet only Vicar-general he had received orders from the Pope to visit and reform every province and monastery (21st January 1563), which faculties were confirmed and extended after his election (8th May 1565) and again by S. Pius V (24th February 1566). Accordingly he set out on a long journey through Spain, France and Italy, which lasted from April 1566 till 31st May 1568. He took ship at Genoa, and arrived at Salou, near Reus, 13th May; thence he proceeded to Saragossa and Madrid (10th June) where he was received by Philip II; on the 16th he was at Toledo, and shortly after that date he went into Andalucía, holding a provincial chapter at Seville on 20th September in presence of more than two hundred religious. He remained there until the end of October; in November he was at Gibráleon and towards the end of the year at Lisbon. In February 1567 he entered the province of Castille, beginning his visitation at Salamanca; here he nominated three religious to visit in his name those convents which he could not personally examine. On 23rd March he was again at Madrid, but this time his audience with the king was far less cordial than the first had been owing to the complaints which had reached Philip from Andalucía of his severity. Shortly afterwards we find him at Moraleta, then at Valladolid (5th April), on the 10th at Fontiveros (the birth-place of S. John of the Cross), and the next day he arrived at Avila where, on the 12th, he held the provincial chapter. He remained there nearly four weeks. On 9th May we find him for the third time at Madrid, where he remained a fortnight, at the end of which he proceeded to Requena. Here we lose sight of him until the beginning of July when he appears at Valencia. At the end of the month he went to Barcelona where he remained six weeks. About the middle of September he was at Avignon, but being unable to hold a visitation of the French provinces owing to the ravages caused by the civil wars he returned to Genoa where he arrived 6th October. The continuation of his journey through Upper Italy does not concern us here.

For full particulars see a series of articles by the present writer on *Jean-Baptiste Rubeo de Ravenne* in *Chroniques du Carmel*, Chèvremont (Belgium) 1908, p. 110 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> As already stated he arrived at Avila 11th April, and remained about four weeks. At the provincial chapter Fray Alonso González was elected provincial, and Fray Angel de Salazar prior of Avila.

come to S. Joseph's, and the bishop<sup>8</sup> was pleased that all reverence should be shown him as to himself in person. I told him everything in all simplicity and truth, for my inclination is to be simple and truthful with my superiors, come what may, for they stand in the place of God. I am so with my confessors,<sup>9</sup> and if I were not I should not think my soul was safe. And so I gave him an account of my soul, and almost of my whole life, though it is very sad : he consoled me greatly, and assured me that he would not order me away. It cheered him to see our way of life, a picture, however imperfect, of the commencement of our order, of the observance in all rigour of the primitive rule, for in no other monastery throughout the whole order is it kept, but only the mitigated rule. He, being well pleased that a work thus begun should be carried on, gave me the fullest authority in writing to found more monasteries, and denounced penalties against the provincial who should stay my hand.<sup>10</sup> I did not ask for this, only he under-

<sup>8</sup> Don Alvaro de Mendoza, bishop of Avila ; he will be mentioned again in the history of the Foundations.—See also the *Life*, ch. xxxiii. 19.

<sup>9</sup> See *Life*, ch. xxiii. 19.

<sup>10</sup> In saying that the Primitive rule was observed in no other monastery of the order Rubeo must have thought of convents of nuns, for it was kept at least in two convents of friars, namely that of Monte Oliveto near Genoa, which he himself visited twice, just before and after his journey to Spain, and that of Our Lady of Hope at Onda in the kingdom of Valencia, referred to in a patent by himself of 13th November, 1565. The two first patents granted by him to S. Teresa bear the dates Avila, 27th April 1567, and Madrid 10th (or 16th) May. The former empowers S. Teresa to found convents of nuns anywhere throughout the kingdom of Castille, the consent of the diocesan authority having previously been obtained. These convents were to be under the immediate jurisdiction of the General and commissioners specially delegated by him, the power of the Provincial, vicar or priors being set aside. They were to conform themselves to that of S. Joseph at Avila with regard to the observance of the primitive rule, the customs,

stood by my manner of prayer that I had great longings to help any soul whatever to draw nearer unto God.

3. But the means for satisfying these longings I did not seek myself; on the contrary, I thought it foolish to do so; for a poor woman, so helpless as I am, saw clearly she could do nothing; but when these longings take possession of the soul it is not possible to drive them away. The love of God and faith make that possible which is not possible according to natural reason, and so I, knowing how much our most reverend general desired the founding of more monasteries, thought I saw them already built. Remembering the words our Lord had spoken to me,<sup>11</sup> I descried always some beginnings of

and the habit worn by the nuns. The number of the latter may not exceed twenty-five in any convent. S. Teresa is empowered to take for each foundation two nuns from the convent of the Incarnation at Avila provided any are willing to join her, and no provincial, prioress or other superior may forbid it. All this is granted on condition that the new convents are to be under the jurisdiction of the General (and not of the bishop), else the patent is void. The second faculty explains that the term 'kingdom of Castille' refers both to Old and New Castille, while Andalucía is explicitly excluded. This same patent mentions the 'Primitive rule and our Constitutions,' as the rule of life of the new convents. It may be asked what Rubeo understood by 'our Constitutions'? During his sojourn in Spain he made certain regulations which he refers to in the Constitutions published in 1568 where he says 'quod etiam observent omnes sanctimoniales nostri ordinis, ut clare liquet ex statutis nostris de earum reformatione in regnis Hispaniarum peractis.' These, however, bound all convents of nuns, not only those of the Teresian reform, whereas the words used in the patent appear to allude to special constitutions, in accordance with the Primitive rule. It therefore seems more probable (at least to the present writer, for others are of a different opinion) that he had in view the special constitutions drawn up by S. Teresa with the authority of Pius IV, and approved by Rubeo, so that he was well entitled to call them 'our Constitutions.' See also *infra*, ch. xxiii. 13, and the Introduction.

<sup>11</sup> See ch. i. 7.

those things which I could not understand hitherto. When I saw our father general returning to Rome I was much distressed; I had conceived a great affection for him, and looked on myself as greatly forsaken. He had showed me very great affection himself, and much kindness; and whenever he was disengaged he used to come here to discourse of spiritual things, for he was a person to whom our Lord must have given great graces, and it was a comfort to us to listen to him.

4. Yet before he went away the bishop, Don Alvaro de Mendoza, who is extremely fond of helping those whom he sees striving to serve God in greater perfection, obtained his consent for the foundation in his diocese of monasteries of barefooted friars of the primitive rule. Others also asked the same of him; he wished it could be done, but he met with opposition in the order, and therefore, not to disturb the province, he refrained for the time.

5. When some days had passed by I considered, if there were to be monasteries for nuns, how necessary it would be to have friars under the same rule; and seeing how very few there were in the province, for they seemed to me to be dying out, I put the matter earnestly before our Lord, and wrote to our father general, begging him as well as I could to grant this, and giving as a reason that it would be greatly for the service of God, showing also that the inconveniences which might arise would not be a sufficient excuse for leaving undone so good a work, and reminding him what a service he would thereby render to our Lady, to whom he was very devout. She it was who did the work; for this letter was delivered



to him while he was in Valencia,<sup>12</sup> and he sent me thence—for he desired to see the strictest observance of the rule practised in the order—his licence to found two monasteries. That no difficulties might be raised, he referred the matter to the provincial and his predecessor; their consent was not easily to be had. But when I saw the chief part of the work done I had hopes our Lord would do the rest; and so it came to pass, for with the help of the lord bishop, who considered the work as specially his own, the provincial and his predecessor gave their consent.

6. Yet, while I was comforted by having obtained the licence, my anxiety grew the more, because there was not a single friar in the province that I knew of who would undertake the task, nor any secular person to make such a beginning. I did nothing but implore our Lord to raise up one at least for our work. Neither had I a house to offer—not even the means to have one. There was I, a poor barefooted nun, without any help whatever except in our Lord, having nothing but the licence of the general and my good desires, and with no means whatever of carrying them into effect. Neither courage nor hope failed me, for as our Lord had given one thing He would also send the other. Everything seemed to me possible now, and so I began the work.

<sup>12</sup>The Saint probably wrote to the General while he was at Valencia. In reply he sent her a patent, dated Barcelona, 14th August 1567, for the foundation of two convents of Discalced friars in the kingdom of Castille. This document has been published in the *Reforma* bk. II. ch. iv. 2, but the principal clause is there left out, which is all the more regrettable as it gives the clue for the understanding of the troubles which befell the Reform of S. Teresa between 1575 and 1581. Rubeo did not content himself with granting the Saint powers to found these two convents, for he also drew up, probably with her assistance, special constitutions for them. These two documents which are of the highest importance are fully discussed in the Introduction and are printed for the first time in the Appendix No. 1 and 2.

7. Oh, the greatness of God! How Thou dost manifest Thy power in giving courage to an ant! Now, O my Lord, the fault is not Thine that those who love Thee do not do great things, but in our cowardice and littleness of mind! How we never make good resolutions without being filled with a thousand fears and considerations of human prudence! so, then, that is the reason, O my God, why Thou dost not show Thy greatness and Thy wonders. Is there any one more willing to give to any one that will receive, or to accept services tendered at his own cost, than Thou art? May it please Thy Majesty that I may have rendered Thee some service, and that I may not have a heavier debt still to pay for the many things I have received! Amen.

## CHAPTER III

BY WHAT MEANS THE FOUNDATION OF THE CONVENT OF S. JOSEPH OF MEDINA DEL CAMPO BEGAN TO BE PLANNED

1. The fathers of the Society help her.—2. Julian of Avila.—3. Commotion in Avila.—4. Fray Antonio de Heredia.—5. The journey to Medina.—6. Fray Domingo Bañez.—7. The Saint resolves to go on.—8. Arrives in Medina.—9. Prepares the altar.—10. She desponds.—11. Father Baltasar Alvarez sends to her.—12. Watch kept over the Blessed Sacrament.—13. A private house is offered her.—14. The house is finished.—15. The Saint begins to prepare for a monastery of friars.—16. S. John of the Cross.—17. The nuns of Medina.

1. IN the midst of all these anxieties I determined to go for help to the fathers of the Society, who were greatly respected in Medina, to whom for many years I had entrusted my soul, as I said before while giving an account of the first foundation,<sup>1</sup> and for whom I have ever a

<sup>1</sup> See *Life*, ch. xxxiii. 13.

special affection, because of the great good they have done me. I wrote to the rector there, and told him what our father general had laid upon me. That rector was one who had heard my confession for many years, as I have said, though I did not give his name. He is father Baltasar Alvarez, now provincial. He and the others said they would do what they could in the matter, and accordingly they laboured much to obtain the consent of the town and of the prelate, which was in every way a difficult matter, because the monastery was to be founded in poverty ; and accordingly the matter was delayed for some days.

2. To arrange the affair there went thither<sup>2</sup> an ecclesiastic, a very great servant of God, exceedingly detached from all the things of the world, and much given to prayer. He was chaplain of the monastery wherein I was living ; our Lord had given to him the very same desires He had given to me, and so he was a great help to me, as will be seen hereafter. It was Julian of Avila.<sup>3</sup> I had the permission to found, it is true, but I

<sup>2</sup> In the end of July 1567. It took him a fortnight to arrange the whole business (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. v. 4, 5).

<sup>3</sup> Don Julian Davila (or de Avila) was the son of Christobal and Ana de Santo Domingo, and the brother of Sister Mary of S. Joseph (see *Life*, ch. xxxvi, 5). His life during a prolonged sojourn at Seville had been anything but exemplary, and though desirous of changing it he lacked courage. An accident which might have proved fatal having befallen him he heard a voice saying, 'What, if thou wert dead?' He now resolved on a complete change, returned to his native place, resumed his studies, and became a priest. His natural gifts, prudence in the management of affairs, affability and kindness, together with supernatural light made him eminently fit for the guidance of souls. The bishop of Avila as well as the archbishop of Toledo entrusted him with important offices, the latter choosing him as his companion for the visitation of convents. Don Julian was a chaplain after S. Teresa's own heart. Only once did she blame him rather severely for indulging the fancies of some nuns (Letter of 27th Febr. 1581). He accompanied

had no house nor money wherewith to buy one, nor sufficient credit. If our Lord did not give it, how could a pilgrim like myself have any? Our Lord provided; for a most excellent young person,<sup>4</sup> for whom there was no room in S. Joseph's, knowing that another house was to be founded, came to me, asking to be received into it. She had a little money—very little—enough, not for the purchase, but only for the hire of a house, and to help us on our journey thither; and so we took a hired house. Without any other support than this we set forth from Avila—two nuns, with myself, from S. Joseph's, and four from the Incarnation,<sup>5</sup> a monastery under the mitigated

her on nearly all her journeys, and his reminiscences written at an advanced age are one of the most precious sources of information concerning the details of her life. His death occurred at Avila, 24th February 1605. He was interred in the chapel of S. Anne (now of S. John of the Cross), in the conventual church of S. Joseph's convent by the side of his lifelong friend, Don Gaspar Daza. *Reforma*, bk. II. ch. v. 2 and 3; *El Monte Carmelo*, Burgos, 1911, 345.

<sup>4</sup> Isabel, daughter of Francisco de Fontecha and Maria de Villalba, born at Avila. On entering the convent of Medina del Campo she took the name Isabel of Jesus. She died there in 1608. *Oeuvres*, iii. 347.

<sup>5</sup> The nuns were Maria Bautista (Ocampo), niece of the Saint, already spoken of, and Anne of the Angels (Ana Gomez), from the convent of S. Joseph (*Life*, xxxvi. nn. 30 and 32), from the monastery of the Incarnation, Ines de Tapia, afterwards Agnes of Jesus, with her sister Ana de Tapia, afterwards Anne of the Incarnation, both cousins of S. Teresa (*Life*, l.c.n. 14); Doña Isabel de Arias, afterwards Isabel of the Cross, and Doña Teresa de Quesada (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. v. 6). The former of these was subprioress of the Incarnation at the time she joined S. Teresa in the foundation of Medina; in the following year she accompanied the Saint to Valladolid of which convent she became the first prioress; when Teresa was elected prioress of the Incarnation (1571) she nominated Isabel of the Cross, subprioress, who filled the office so well, especially during the prolonged absence of S. Teresa, that at the expiration of the latter's tenure of office she was elected in her place. Doña Teresa de Quesada was a younger sister of Doña Ines de Quesada who died at the Incarnation about 1600, being nearly a centenarian. She clearly remembered the

rule, and in which I lived before S. Joseph's was founded. Our father chaplain, Julian of Avila, went with us.

3. There was a stir in the city as soon as it was known. Some said I was mad; others waited for the end of this folly. The bishop—so he told me afterwards—thought it a very great folly, though he did not say so at the time: he would not trouble me nor give me pain, because of his great affection for me. My friends told me so fast enough, but I made light of it all, for I looked on that which they thought questionable as so easy that I could not persuade myself to admit it could fail at all.

4. Now when we left Avila<sup>6</sup> I had already written to a

visits to the monastery of the youthful Teresa de Ahumada, previous to her entrance, and the dress worn by the future saint, a petticoat of orange colour with black velvet ribbons. Doña Teresa de Quesada has been mentioned as one of those who entered into a friendly dispute with S. Teresa as to which of them was to be *the* Saint Teresa whom the monastery according to a prophecy was to produce (*Life*, Introd. p. xiv). If she did not attain eminent sanctity she at least did not fall far short of it, for Doña Maria Espinel to whom we owe some precious records calls her 'a grand religious.' Doña Teresa's name appears in deeds of the Incarnation dated 1557 and 1591 in which latter year she was the second of the three keepers of the keys. At that time there was also at the Incarnation a young religious bearing the same name, perhaps a relative of the former. When S. Teresa undertook the foundation of Medina del Campo Doña Teresa accompanied her, adopting the name of Teresa de la Coluna; having been nominated prioress in 1571 she resigned that office after two years and returned to the Incarnation where she died at the age of eighty. Notwithstanding her gentle birth she would never accept the privilege of a private room, but contented herself with a place in the common dormitory and infirmary. See *Oeuvres*, iii. 300 sqq., and notes collected by the present writer.

<sup>6</sup> The Saint left Avila 13th August 1567; but Julian had gone to Medina in the end of July with letters from the Saint to Baltasar Alvarez, her old confessor, and then rector in that city of the house of the Society. Father Alvarez was asked to obtain the permission of the abbot in whom the jurisdiction was vested. The abbot took counsel and made inquiries about the Saint. Some spoke severely against her,



father of our order, Fray Antonio de Heredia,<sup>7</sup> asking him to buy me a house. He was then prior of S. Anne's there, a monastery of our order. He treated with a lady,<sup>8</sup> who had a great affection for him, for a house, which was in a good situation, but, with the exception of one room, in a ruinous condition. She was so good as to promise to sell it to him, and so they settled the affair without her asking him for security, or anything more than his word. If she had asked for security we should have been helpless. Our Lord was arranging it all. The house was in so ruinous a plight that we had to hire another while they were repairing it, for there was much to be done to it.

5. The first day's journey, then, brought us, late at night, and worn out by the difficulties of the road, to

and the abbot himself was not in favour of absolute poverty. But Baltasar Alvarez knew that S. Teresa would never give way on this point, and Fray Dominic Bañez who was present spoke so warmly for her that within a fortnight the abbot granted the permission (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. v. 4).

<sup>7</sup> Fray Antonio de Heredia, bachelor in divinity, born at Requena about 1510, where he also took the religious habit, studied at Salamanca, became prior successively at Moraleja, Requena and Toledo (1561); he assisted at the general chapter of 1564 in the quality of first socius to the provincial of Castille and judge in matters relating to civil law. In the following year he was prior at Avila and as such must have been well acquainted with S. Teresa and her convent. Philip II chose him as one of the reformers of the Spanish Carmelites, but as the nomination was prematurely and indiscreetly published abroad the friars turned against him, and their opposition was not allayed by subsequent rumour of his projected exchange of the Carmelite habit for that of the Carthusians. These trials are alluded to *infra* § 15. *Reforma*, bk. II. ch. v, 1. and notes collected in Italy and Spain.

<sup>8</sup> Doña Maria de Herrera. Her house was in the Calle Santiago, but as it was in a most ruinous state, Julian of Avila hired a house near the monastery of the Augustinian friars, where the nuns might be lodged till the purchased house could be made ready to receive them (*Ibid.* ch. v. 5).

Arévalo. As we were drawing near to the town,<sup>9</sup> one of our friends, an ecclesiastic, who had provided a lodging for us in the house of certain devout women, came to meet us, and told me secretly that the house was not to be had, because it was close to that of the Augustinian friars, who would resist our taking possession, and that we should be forced to go to law.<sup>10</sup> O my God, how poor is all opposition when Thou, O Lord, art pleased to give us courage ! This seemed rather to encourage me, for I thought, seeing that the devil was beginning to be troublesome, that our Lord would take pleasure in the monastery. Nevertheless, I asked the priest to keep silence, not to trouble my companions, particularly the two nuns of the Incarnation,<sup>11</sup> for the others

<sup>9</sup> Agnes of Jesus, in the informations taken in Medina in the process of the Saint's beatification, has preserved a fact which S. Teresa seems to have studiously omitted. As they were drawing near to Arévalo the Saint sent one of the priests in her company on before, with instructions to find Alonso Esteban. He was to be found walking under a certain portico, and the messenger was to tell him that the mother Teresa of Jesus was coming into the town, and that she asked him to find a lodging for her and her companions. Everything happened as the Saint had said, and Alonso Esteban found a lodging for her in the house of a lady, Ana de Velasco (*De la Fuente*, vi. 226, where the event is said to have taken place on a journey from Medina to Avila).

<sup>10</sup> This priest was the bearer of a letter to Julian de Avila from Alonso Alvarez, who had let the house in Medina. The writer said that he, as a friend of the Augustinians, could not give them the house without the assent of those friars, and begged him to arrange the matter with them before the nuns left Avila (*Ribera*, bk. II. ch. vii. ; *Reforma*, bk. II. ch. v. 9).

<sup>11</sup> The Saint had said before (§ 3) that she took four nuns from the Incarnation. The explanation of the apparent contradiction is to be found in *Ribera*, ii. ch. vii. The Saint took only two nuns from the Incarnation, and that was the number to which the general had expressly limited her ; but a few days before she set out for Medina two nuns, Ana and Ines de Tapia, had come from the Incarnation into the house of S. Joseph, and were therefore not strictly nuns of that monastery on the 13th August 1567.

would have gone through any trouble for me. One of these two was then sub-prioress there, both of them of good families. Great opposition had been made to their coming with us, and they came against the will of their kindred, for everybody thought it foolish; and I saw afterwards they had reason enough on their side. But when our Lord will have me found one of these houses, my mind seems unable to admit any consideration sufficiently strong to make me refrain till the work is done; then all the difficulties rise all at once before me,<sup>12</sup> as will be seen hereafter.<sup>13</sup>

6. When we had reached our lodgings I found that a Dominican friar was in the place, a very great servant of God, who used to be my confessor when I was in S. Joseph's. In telling the history of that foundation I spoke much of his goodness, now I will only mention his name, the master Fray Domingo Bañez, a man of great learning and discretion, by whose counsels I was directed. To him it did not seem that what I was going to do was so difficult as it seemed to everybody else, for the more God is known the more easy is it to do His work; so he thought it all quite possible, because of certain graces which he knew His Majesty had bestowed on me, and because of the things he had seen during the founding of S. Joseph's. It was a great joy to me to see him, for under his direction I thought everything would prosper. Then when he had come in I told him as a great secret what was going on; he thought we might quickly settle with the Augustinians; any delay, however, was irksome to me, because I did not know

<sup>12</sup> So also was it with her when she made the first foundation of the order, that of S. Joseph in Avila (See *Life*, ch. xxxvi. 5, 6).

<sup>13</sup> See below, § 10.

what to do with so many nuns ; and thus we all spent that night in trouble, for it was told at once to everybody in the lodging.

7. The next morning the prior of our order, Fray Antonio, arrived ; he told us that the house he had agreed to buy was large enough, and that it had a porch wherein a small church might be made by adorning it with hangings. That we resolved to do. To me, at least, it seemed fair enough, for the least delay was the best for us, because we were away from our monasteries, and moreover I was afraid of some opposition now that I had learnt caution by the first foundation ; so I wished to take possession before our arrival became known ; accordingly we made up our minds to do so at once. The master, father Domingo, agreed with us.<sup>14</sup>

8. We arrived in Medina del Campo at midnight on the eve of our Lady's feast in August, alighted at the monastery of S. Anne, so as to occasion no disturbance, and went on foot to the house. It was a great mercy of our Lord that we were met by no one, for they were at that hour shutting in the bulls that were to run next day. I never thought of that at all, because of the excitement we were in, but our Lord, ever mindful of those who seek His service, and certainly I had no other end in the matter, delivered us. Having reached the house, we

<sup>14</sup> The Saint set out from Arévalo in the morning, sending four of the nuns who were with her under the care of Alonso Esteban to Villanueva de Azerales, where Vicente de Ahumada, brother of two of them—Agnes of Jesus and Anne of the Incarnation—was rector. With the other two, Mary of S. John Baptist and Anne of the Angels, she went on to Olmedo, where the bishop of Avila was then staying, and arrived there in the evening. The bishop received her with joy, and, as she would not stop there, sent her on her way in a carriage which he provided for her, and his chaplain with her. Julian de Avila had gone on before the Saint, and was then waiting for her in Medina (*Ribera*, ii. 7).

entered a court. The walls seemed to me very ruinous, but not so much so then as afterwards by daylight. It was our Lord's pleasure, it seems, to make the blessed father blind to the unseemliness of reserving the Most Holy Sacrament in such a place.

9. On looking at the porch we saw there was earth in it which must be taken away, the roof was broken, and the walls not plastered. The night was now far spent, and we had nothing but a few hangings, I believe three, and they were little better than none considering the length of the porch. I knew not what to do, for I saw it would never do to put an altar there. It was our Lord's pleasure to have it done at once, for the steward of the lady had many pieces of tapestry belonging to her in the house, and a piece of blue damask ; and he had been told by her to give us everything we should want, for she was very good. When I saw how well provided we were I gave our Lord thanks, as did the others. However, we did not know what to do for nails, and it was not a time for buying any, so a search along the walls was begun ; at last, with some trouble, we found enough. Some<sup>15</sup> began to hang the tapestry, and we nuns to clean the floor : we made such haste that the altar was ready, and the little bell hung, by daybreak, when mass was said at once.<sup>16</sup> This was enough to take possession, but we did not stop there, for we had the Most Holy Sacrament reserved : there was a door opposite the altar, and through the chinks therein we saw mass said ; there was no other way. Up to this moment I was happy, for

<sup>15</sup> These were the priests and the religious who had come with Fray Antonio de Heredia from his monastery (*Ribera* ii. 8).

<sup>16</sup> It was Fray Antonio de Heredia who said the first mass (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. v. 10).



it is to me a very great joy to see but one church the more wherein the Most Holy Sacrament is reserved. But my joy was only for a moment, for when mass was over I went to look at the court through a little window, and saw the walls in some places were level with the ground, and it would take many days to repair them.

10. O my God! what anguish of heart was mine when I saw His Majesty in the street in times so full of peril because of those Lutherans.<sup>17</sup> Then all the difficulties which they might raise who had spoken against us came before me at once, and I saw plainly that they had reason on their side. I thought it impossible to go on with the work, for, as before everything seemed easy, considering it was done for God, so now the temptation gathered strength against me in such a way that it seemed as if I had never received any grace whatever from Him. I thought only of my own meanness and scanty strength. Then, relying on a thing so wretched as myself, what good results could I hope for? If I had been alone I think I could have borne it better, but it was hard to bear when I began to think that my companions would have to return to their monastery, out of which they had come in spite of so much opposition. I thought too that, as the mistake was made in the very beginning, everything that I understood our Lord would do later on could never be. Then there came upon me at once a fear that what I had heard in prayer was a delusion, and this was not the least but the greatest pain, for I was thrown into very great fear that Satan had been deceiving me.

11. O my God! what a sight is that soul which Thou

<sup>17</sup> Among the strangers in the town, who were foreign merchants, the Saint feared there might be some heretics (*Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. v. 11).

givest up to suffer ! Certainly, when I think of this trial, and of some others I had to go through while making these foundations, I do not think that any bodily sufferings, however painful, are to be even remembered in comparison with this. Notwithstanding all this distress—and it was very hard to bear—I did not let my companions know of it, for I would not bring more trouble upon them than they had already. I remained in my sorrow till the evening, when the rector<sup>18</sup> of the society sent one of the fathers to see me, who gave me great encouragement and comfort. I did not tell him all my distress, but only that which I felt at seeing ourselves in the street. I began by speaking to him about finding a hired house at any cost, into which we might go while this underwent repairs ; and then I took comfort when I saw so many people come in, none of whom reflected on our folly, which was a mercy of God ; for had they done so, most certainly the Most Holy Sacrament would have been removed. At this moment I am thinking of my want of sense and of their inconsiderateness in not consuming the Host, yet I believe if that had been done everything would have been undone.

12. Notwithstanding all the search we made, a house to let was not to be found in the place, and thus I was in sore distress night and day ; for, though I always left men to keep watch over the Most Holy Sacrament, I was afraid they might fall asleep ; and so I used to rise in the night to look on through the window, which I could easily do in the moonlight. During all these days many people used to come, and they not only did not find fault with us, but were even filled with devotion at the sight of our Lord once more in the porch ; and

<sup>18</sup> Baltasar Alvarez (See § 1, above).

His Majesty, never weary of humiliations for our sakes, did not seem as if He wished to depart.

13. When eight days had gone by a merchant<sup>19</sup> living in a very good house, seeing our necessity, told us we might go to the upper part of it, where we might remain as in a house of our own. There was a very large hall in it, decorated with gilding, which he gave us for a church; and a lady, Doña Elena de Quiroga,<sup>20</sup> a great servant of God, living near the house we had bought, said that she would help me to begin at once the chapel for the Most Holy Sacrament, and would also provide for our enclosure. Others gave us abundant alms in the way of food, but it was this lady who helped me most.

14. Hereupon I began to be at ease, for we were perfectly enclosed where we were, and began to say the office, and the good prior was hurrying on the arrangements of the house with much trouble. It took, how-

<sup>19</sup> Blas de Medina (*Ribera* ii. 9).

<sup>20</sup> A niece of Cardinal Quiroga, archbishop of Toledo, and widow of Don Diego de Villarroel. Her house was close to the new convent, and she went to see the Saint, who made such an impression on her that she would have wished to become a nun, but was for many years unable to carry out this design. One of her daughters having married, Doña Elena resolved to found, with the help of the younger daughter, a school for young ladies on semi-conventual lines, under the protection and supervision of the Jesuits and Dominicans. S. Teresa took the greatest interest in the project, as may be seen from her letter of 27th July 1573, but how far it was successful seems doubtful. Doña Elena's daughter, Geronima de Villarroel, entered the Carmelite convent at Medina at the age of fourteen, took the habit on 13th January 1575, and made her profession, 25th March 1577, taking the name of Hieronyma of the Incarnation. Her mother entered the same convent in 1581, making her profession 1st November 1582, under the name of Helena of Jesus. At a later period both were called to Toledo at the request of Cardinal de Quiroga, and filled there successively the office of prioress. Finally both returned to Medina where Helena died, 2nd September 1596, and Hieronyma on Easter Tuesday, 24th April 1612. *Oeuvres*, iii. 359 and 367.

ever, two months to finish it ; but it was so done that we were able to remain in it quietly for some years ; since then our Lord has made it more convenient.

15. While staying there I was always thinking of monasteries of friars, but as I had not one friar to begin with, as I said before,<sup>21</sup> I did not know what to do ; so I made up my mind to discuss the matter in the utmost secrecy with the prior there, and see what he would advise me ; accordingly I did so. He rejoiced exceedingly when he heard the matter, and promised me to be himself the first. I took that for a pleasantry, and said so to him : though he was a good and recollected friar, thoughtful and fond of his cell, and learned beside, yet, for the beginning of a work like this, he did not seem to me to possess the requisite courage or the strength to bear the severity of the rule, for he was of a delicate constitution, and not inured to austerities. He insisted on it, and assured me that our Lord had for some time been calling him to a stricter life ; that he had made up his mind to go to the Carthusians, and that they had promised to receive him. Nevertheless I was not very well satisfied, though very glad to hear this from him ; and so I asked him to wait a while and try himself in the observances of those things he would have to promise to do. He accordingly did so for a year, and in that time so many trials and the persecutions of evil tongues occurred whereby it seemed our Lord meant to prove him. He himself bore all so well, and made such great progress, that I gave thanks to our Lord for it, for it seemed to me that His Majesty was preparing him for the change.

16. Shortly afterwards came a father, still young, who

<sup>21</sup> See ch. ii. 6.

was studying in Salamanca. There was another with him as his companion, who told me great things of the life of that father, who was John of the Cross.<sup>22</sup> I gave thanks to our Lord. I spoke to the friar, with whom I was greatly pleased, and learnt from him that he too wished to become a Carthusian. I spoke to him of my purpose, and pressed him to wait till our Lord gave us a monastery, and of the great good it would do, if he led a higher life, to continue in the same order, and how much greater the service he would render to our Lord. He gave me a promise on the condition I made no long delay. When I saw that I had two friars<sup>23</sup> to begin with I looked on the work as done. Still, however, I was not satisfied with the prior, and so I waited for some time, and also for want of a place to make a beginning in.<sup>24</sup>

17. The nuns were growing in reputation with the people, who conceived a great affection for them, and I believe with good reason, for they had no other aim but that of serving our Lord more and more, each to the utmost of her power, in everything after the manner observed in S. Joseph's of Avila, for the rule and constitutions in both places were the same.<sup>25</sup> Our Lord

<sup>22</sup> At this time he was John of S. Matthias, and had been just ordained priest. His companion was Fray Pedro Orosco (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. ix. 5). S. John of the Cross was born at Fontiveros 24th June 1542 and entered the order in the convent of S. Anne, Medina del Campo, of which Fray Antonio was now prior.

<sup>23</sup> The Saint used to say playfully that she had a friar and a half, because of the dignified presence of Fray Antonio and of the small stature of S. John of the Cross.

<sup>24</sup> See ch. xiii. 1.

<sup>25</sup> The Saint, on leaving the monastery, made Agnes of Jesus prioress, and her sister Anne of the Incarnation sub-prioress. When still in Medina she received a visit from Don Bernardino de Mendoza (see ch. x. 1), who knew her in Avila, and offered her a house in Valladolid for a monastery. She accepted the gift: but Doña Leonor de



began to call some to take the habit, and so many were the graces He bestowed on them that I was amazed. May He be blessed for ever, Amen, for, in order to love, He seems only to wait to be loved Himself.

Mascareñas was at the same time pressing her to go to Alcalá de Henares to set in order the monastery founded there with her (Doña Leonor's) help by Maria of Jesus (see *Life*, ch. xxxvi. 29). Accordingly, in November 1567, the Saint arrived in Madrid on her way to Alcalá with two nuns, Anne of the Angels and Antonia of the Holy Ghost whom she had sent for from Avila. She wished to make that journey undisturbed by the presence of secular people ; but Doña Maria de Mendoza, who was going to Ubeda, insisted on the Saint's travelling in her carriage as far as Madrid. In that city she was lodged in the house of Doña Leonor and was visited by the grand ladies of Madrid, who crowded around her, some from devotion, others from curiosity, expecting to see miracles and ecstasies. The Saint understood the temper of her visitors, and spoke to them of secular things, such as the beauty of the streets of Madrid, without the slightest allusion to those of the city of God. Some of these ladies admitted that she was a good sort of person enough, but only an ordinary nun. Others, however, had a keener discernment, as also had the barefooted Franciscan nuns, whose abbess (Juana de la Cruz), was the sister of the Duke of Gandía, and whose house had been lately founded by Doña Juana, sister of Philip II. With them, out of deference to the princess, she remained a fortnight. She left Madrid 20th November 1567, with Doña Maria de Mendoza who had been asked by Doña Leonor to take her to Alcalá de Henares. Having arrived there, she was received by the venerable Maria of Jesus and her nuns as if she had been their foundress and superior. S. Teresa found the convent on the verge of ruin, as the foundress with more zeal than discretion had insisted on austerities that were not only above human nature but even contrary to reason. The keys of the house were given to her, and the whole community offered itself to her to be guided and instructed by her. She gave them the constitutions which she had drawn up for her houses in Avila and Medina. The Saint wished the community to place itself under the jurisdiction of the order, as she had placed her foundation in Medina ; but the nuns and the bishop disliked the change, and Fray Dominic Bañez, at that moment in Alcalá, advised her not to press the matter (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. x.). F. Ribera, S. J., visited the monastery of Maria of Jesus in 1585, and found the constitutions and directions of S. Teresa fervently observed therein (i. 16). Doña Leonor de Mascareñas was one of the ladies who had offered to intercede for S. Ignatius when he was imprisoned in Alcalá and suspected of heresy.

## CHAPTER IV

OF CERTAIN GRACES BESTOWED BY THE LORD ON THE NUNS OF  
THESE MONASTERIES—ADVICE IS GIVEN TO THE PRIORESSES  
CONCERNING THEM

1. A digression.—2. Great prayers of the nuns.—3. Dangers on the road of perfection.—4. Confidence in God.—5. Graces bestowed on the new Carmel.—6. The graces of founders.—7. Each nun in her day to be perfect.—8. Graces of the first Carmelites.

1. NOT knowing how long our Lord will give me life or opportunity—I seem to have some at present—I think it well, before I go on further, to give certain directions whereby the prioresses may understand and guide their subjects with greater advantage to their souls, though in a way less to their liking. It is to be observed that when I was commanded to write the history of these foundations—omitting the first, that of S. Joseph in Avila, the history of which was written immediately after it was made—seven others, by the help of our Lord, had been made, including that of Alba de Tormes, which is the last.<sup>1</sup> The reason why more foundations were not made is, that my superiors compelled me to undertake another work, as will be seen further on.<sup>2</sup>

2. Considering, then, what in the spiritual order took place in these monasteries during these years, I see the

<sup>1</sup> Alba de Tormes was founded in 1571 (see ch. xx. below), on the 20th of February, while the next foundation, that of Segovia, was made (see ch. xxi.) on the 19th of March 1574. Thus the Saint had rest for three years from her own immediate work, but in reality no rest at all, for she was sent that year from Medina, whither she had returned from Alba, to be the prioress of her old home, the monastery of the Incarnation in Avila.

<sup>2</sup> This was her appointment as prioress of the monastery of the Incarnation, where she was professed (see below, ch. xix. 6, note).

necessity of saying what I am about to say ; and may our Lord grant I may say it so as to meet that necessity ! And, as that which has been wrought is not a delusion, there is no need for people's minds to be alarmed ; for, as I have said elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> in a little work I wrote for my sisters, our Lord will not suffer Satan to have so much power as to deceive us at all to the hurt of our souls so long as we live under obedience with a pure conscience : on the contrary, Satan will be deceived himself, and, as he knows it, I believe he does not do us so much evil as our own imagination and perverse humours, particularly if we yield to melancholy, for we women are naturally weak, and the self-love that rules us is very subtle. Many persons have come to me, both men and women, as well as the nuns of these houses, and I have clearly seen that they very often deceive themselves, but without meaning it. I really believe that Satan must intrude himself here to mock us ; but most of those who, as I have just said, had been seen by me, I never knew, through the goodness of our Lord, to have been abandoned by Him. It was His will, perhaps, to try them by these fears, that they might learn by experience.

3. Prayer and perfection are, because of our sins, fallen so low in the eyes of the world, that it is necessary for me to explain myself in this way ; for if men are afraid to walk on that road, even without seeing its dangers, what will it be if we were to tell them some of those dangers ?—although it be true there is danger in everything, and that it is needful, while we live, to walk in fear, to pray to our Lord to teach us and not to abandon us. But, as I said before<sup>4</sup>—I think I said so— if there be a state wherein the danger is least, it is theirs

<sup>3</sup> See *Way of Perfection*, ch. xl. 3.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ibid.*, ch. xl. 2.

who most frequently think of God and labour to be perfect in their lives.

4. O my Lord, when we see that Thou dost frequently deliver us from dangers into which we rush, even so as to offend Thee, how can any one believe that Thou wilt not deliver us when our only aim is to please Thee, and in Thee to find our joy? I can never believe it. God in His secret judgment may permit certain things to have diverse issues, but what is good never ended in evil. This, then, I am saying, should be a means to make us strive to travel on the road more diligently, that we may please the Bridegroom the more and find Him the sooner, but not to give up the attempt; to encourage us to journey bravely on through the dangerous passes of this life, but not to make cowards of us henceforth; for in the end, if we go onwards humbly, we shall arrive, by the mercy of God, in the city of Jerusalem, where all we shall have endured will be little or nothing in comparison with the joy that is there.<sup>5</sup>

5. When these little dovecots of the Virgin our Lady began to be filled, His Divine Majesty began also to show His munificence in these poor women—weak certainly, but strong in their good desires and in their detachment from all created things, for that must be what most unites a soul with its Maker, the conscience meanwhile being pure. It is not necessary to prove this, for if the detachment be real I think it is impossible for any one who has it to offend our Lord; for, as in all their words and actions they never withdraw from Him, so His Majesty seems to be unwilling to withdraw from them. This is the sight I see at present, and I can truly

<sup>5</sup> Rom. viii. 18: 'Non sunt condignæ passionēs hujus temporis ad futuram gloriā quæ revelabitur in nobis.'

say so. Let those who come after us be afraid, and let them read this, and if they do not see what may be seen now, let them not lay the blame on the times, for all times are times in which God will give His graces to those who serve Him in earnest, and then let them try to find out where the fault is and amend it.

6. I have occasionally heard people say of those who were the founders of orders that upon them, our holy fathers gone before us, our Lord poured down more abundant grace because they were the foundation of the building. And so it was.<sup>6</sup> But then they must have looked on themselves as the foundations whereon they were to be built up who should come after them ; and if we who are now living fall not away from the fervour of those who have gone before us, and if those who may come after us will not do so also, the building will stand strong for ever. What good is it to me that the saints who have gone before us were what they were, if I who come after them am so wicked as to leave the building in ruins through my evil habits ? for it is plain enough that those who are coming do not think so much of those who lived many years ago as they do of those whom they see before their eyes. A pleasant thing indeed to excuse myself on the ground that I am not one of the first, without any reference to the difference there is between my life and virtues and theirs, to whom God granted graces so great !

7. O my God, what excuses so false, what delusions so clear ! I am not speaking of the founders of orders, for, as God chose them for so high a work, He gave them

<sup>6</sup> S. Teresa wrote originally these words, ‘as those who know more than I do say so, it must be so . . .’ ; the rest of the sentence is illegible.



more abundant grace.<sup>7</sup> I am sorry, O my God, to be so wicked and so worthless in Thy service, but I know well it is my fault that Thou dost not give me the graces which Thou gavest to those who have gone before me. My life is a burden to me when I compare it with theirs, and I cannot say so without weeping. I see that I have wasted the fruit of their labours, and that I cannot anyhow complain of Thee, nor is it right that anyone of us should complain ; but if any one should see her order falling away in anything, let her labour to become herself such a stone as that the building may be raised up anew thereon, for our Lord will help her in that work.

8. Returning, then, to the matter I had to speak of—for I have wandered far from it—the graces wrought by our Lord in these houses are so great that, if there be in them one sister whom our Lord is leading by the way of meditation, all the rest are advancing by the way of perfect contemplation ; some have gone so far as to have had raptures ;<sup>8</sup> to others our Lord gives His grace in a different way, together with revelations and visions, which clearly are the work of God. There is not a single

<sup>7</sup> The preceding clause is on the margin, not in the text, but in the handwriting of the Saint.

<sup>8</sup> This passage has undergone extensive changes at the hands of a corrector, probably Father Jerome Gratian, who so effectively obliterated S. Teresa's writing as to render it all but illegible. P. Marcel Bouix endeavoured to restore the original reading in which he was followed by Don Vicente de la Fuente in the edition of 1861, by the French Carmelite Nuns (*Oeuvres*, iii. 94) and by Mr Lewis. In the transcript of the photographic edition (1880) Don Vicente reproduced the interpolated text without a word of explanation. It reads thus : 'the graces wrought by our Lord in these houses are so great that while all the sisters are being led by the way of meditation, some are advancing by that of perfect contemplation, and others have reached so far as to experience raptures ; to others again our Lord gives His grace in a different way.'

house at present in which one, or two, or three, may not be found who are thus visited. I know well that holiness does not lie herein, nor is it my intention merely to tell this in their praise, but rather to show that the instructions I wish to give are not without a purpose.

## CHAPTER V

CONTAINS DIRECTIONS ABOUT PRAYER; THIS IS MOST PROFITABLE  
FOR THOSE WHO LEAD THE ACTIVE LIFE

1. The Saint's sources of knowledge.—2. Perfect prayer.—3. Meditation.—4. Self-love.—5. Our own ease not to be preferred to the Will of God.—6. Blessings of obedience.—7. Instance of obedience.—8. Fruits of obedience.—9. Vision of a religious.—10. The sum of perfection.—11. Obedience stronger than reasoning.—12. Submission of the will.—13. The sacrifice of the will.—14. Always rewarded.—15. Blessings of solitude.—16. Trials show us what we are.—17. Self-knowledge.—18. Obedience of our Lord.

1. I do not mean, and I have never thought, that what I am now going to say is so accurate that it should be held as an infallible rule : that would be folly in matters so difficult. But, as there are many ways in the way of the Spirit, it may be that I shall say something to the purpose concerning some of them ; and if they do not understand me who are not travelling this way, that will be because they are travelling on another, and if I do good to nobody our Lord will accept my good will, for He knows that, if I have not experienced it all myself, I have observed it in other souls.

2. In the first place, I wish to show, so far as my poor understanding is able, wherein lies the essence of perfect prayer ; for some I have met with think the whole

matter lies in thinking, and so, if they can think long about God, though by doing great violence to themselves, they believe forthwith that they are spiritual people; and if unable to hold out longer, they turn to other occupations, however good, they fall immediately into great discomfort, and look upon themselves as lost. Learned men do not labour under ignorance like this, yet I have found one who did so; but for us women it is well we should be warned to beware of all ignorance in these matters. I am not saying that it is not a grace from our Lord that a person should be always able to persevere in meditation on His works, and it is right to make an effort to do so; but it must be understood that not every imagination is by nature able to do it, but every soul is able to love Him, [and perfection lies in that rather than in thinking].<sup>1</sup> I have already in another place<sup>2</sup> spoken of the causes of the disorder of our imagination—not of all, I believe, for that would be impossible, but of some—and so I do not treat of them now, but I would rather show that the soul is not the power of thinking, and that the will is not ordered by it, for that would be a sad state, as I said just now, seeing that the good of the soul does not consist in its thinking much, but in its loving much. And if you were to ask how is this love to be had, my answer is, by a good resolution to do and suffer for God, and by carrying out that resolution into act whenever the opportunity occurs.

3. It is very true that by meditating on the debt we owe our Lord, on His nature and on ours, a soul may attain to a firm resolution—and there is great merit in

<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets are an interpolation of Father Gratian.

<sup>2</sup> See *Life*, ch. xvii. 10.

doing so, and it is most fitting in the beginning ; but it must be understood that what relates to obedience, and the good of our neighbour, to the doing of which charity constrains us, must not be hindered thereby,<sup>3</sup> for on such occasions, when either of these two is required of us, we must give up for the time that which we so much long to give to God ; which, as we regard it, is to be alone meditating upon Him, and rejoicing in His consolations. To give this up for either of the other two is to give pleasure to our Lord, and do it for Him :<sup>4</sup> so He Himself has said—‘What ye did for one of these little ones ye did for Me.’<sup>5</sup> And as to that which relates to obedience, He will not have us walk by any other way than that which He chose for himself—*Obediens usque ad mortem*.<sup>6</sup>

4. If, then, this be true, whence comes that inward dissatisfaction which we generally feel when we have not passed the greater part of the day alone and absorbed in God, even though we were occupied in other ways ? From two sources, I think : one, and this is the chief, is self-love, which thrusts itself in here in a most subtle way, and accordingly escapes detection ; that is, we would please ourselves rather than God. For it is clear that when a soul has begun to taste how sweet our Lord is,<sup>7</sup> it finds more pleasure in being at ease, abstaining from bodily labour, and receiving consolation.

<sup>3</sup> Oratio impediens obligationem est illusio, et oratio quæ nescit relinquere Deum propter Deum, nec subvenire fraternæ charitati obligatorię, et pœnitentiam præfert obedientię, vel amentia est vel manifesta illusio (*Schram, Theolog. Mystic*, § 472).

<sup>4</sup> S. Philip expressed it thus—‘Leaving Christ for Christ.’ See his *Life*, by Bacci, bk. ii. ch. v.

<sup>5</sup> S. Matt. xxv. 40. Quamdiu fecistis uni de his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis.

<sup>6</sup> Philipp. ii. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Ps. xxxiii. 9. Gustate et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus.

5. Oh, the charity of those who truly love our Lord, and who understand their own state ! How scanty the rest they will be able to take if they but see they can in any degree help a single soul to advance, and to love God more, or be able to comfort it in any way, or rescue it from any danger ! How ill at ease such souls will be when they are at rest ! And when they cannot help them in act they have recourse to prayer, beseeching our Lord on behalf of the many souls whom it grieves them to see going to ruin ; they abandon their own comfort, and look on it as well lost, for they think not of their own rest, but only how they may more and more do the will of our Lord. It is the same in things that relate to obedience : it would be a strange thing if, when God clearly told us to betake ourselves to some work that concerns Him, we were to do nothing but stand still and gaze upon Him because that gives us a greater joy. A pleasant progress this in the love of God !—to tie His hands through an opinion that He can do us good only in one way.

6. I know of some, and have lived among them—I put on one side my own experience, as I said before<sup>8</sup>—who taught me the truth of this ; when I was myself in great distress because of the little time I had, and accordingly was sorry to see them always employed and having much to do, because they were under obedience, and was thinking within myself, and even said as much to them, that spiritual growth was not possible amidst so much hurry and confusion, for they had then not grown much. O Lord, how different are Thy ways from what we imagined them to be !<sup>9</sup> and how Thou, if a soul be

<sup>8</sup> § 1, *supra*.

<sup>9</sup> Is. lv. 8. Non enim cogitationes meæ, cogitationes vestræ ; neque viæ vestræ, viæ meæ, dicit Dominus.



determined to love Thee, and resigned in Thy hands, askest nothing of it but obedience ; the sure knowledge of what is for Thy greater honour, and the desire to do it. That soul need not seek out means, nor make a choice of any, for its will is already Thine. Thou, O Lord, hast taken upon Thyself to guide it in the way the most profitable to it. And even if the superior be not mindful of that soul's profit, but only of the duties to be discharged in the community, Thou, O my God, art mindful of it ; Thou preparest its ways, and orderest those things we have to do, so that we find ourselves, without our knowing how, by faithfully observing, for the love of God, the commands that are laid upon us, spiritually growing and making great progress, which afterwards fills us with wonder.

7. So it was with one whom I conversed with not many days since. He had been for fifteen years under obedience, charged with laborious offices and the government of others—so much so that he could not call to mind one day that he had had to himself ; nevertheless he contrived to find, the best way he could, some time every day for prayer, and to have a conscience without offence.<sup>10</sup> He is one whose soul is the most given to obedience that I ever saw, and he impresses that virtue on every one he has to do with. Our Lord has amply rewarded him, for he finds himself, he knows not how, in possession of that liberty of spirit, so prized and so desired, which the perfect have, and wherein lies all the happiness that can be wished for in this life ; for, seeking nothing, he possesses all things. Such souls fear nothing, and desire nothing on earth ; no troubles disturb them,

<sup>10</sup> Acts xxiv. 16. *Studeo sine offendiculo conscientiam habere ad Deum.*

no pleasures touch them ; in a word, nobody can rob them of their peace, for it rests on God alone, and, as nobody can rob them of Him, nothing but the fear of losing Him can give them any pain ; for everything else in this world is, in their opinion, as if it were not, because it can neither make nor mar their happiness.

8. O blessed obedience, and blessed the distraction caused thereby, by which we gain so much. That person is not the only one, for I have known others like him, of whom, not having seen them for very many years, I asked how they had been spending the time that had gone by : all of it had been spent in the labours of obedience and of charity : on the other hand, I observed such spiritual prosperity as made me marvel. Well, then, my children, be not discouraged, for if obedience employs you in outward things, know that even if you are in the kitchen our Lord moves amidst the pots and pans, helping us both within and without.

9. I remember being told by a religious that he was resolved, and had made up his mind in earnest, never to refuse to do anything his superior enjoined him, whatever the labour might be ; and that one day, wearied with work and unable to stand, in the evening as he was going to rest himself a while, his superior met him, and told him to take a spade and go and dig in the garden. He did not say a word, though naturally greatly distressed, so much so that he could do no work ; he took up a spade, and going along a passage which led to the garden—I saw it many years after he had told me of it, when I was trying to found a house in that place—he saw our Lord before him with His cross on His shoulders,

so worn and wearied that he felt his own weariness to be nothing in comparison with His.<sup>11</sup>

10. I believe myself that when Satan sees there is no road that leads more quickly to the highest perfection than this of obedience, he suggests many difficulties under the colour of some good, and makes it distasteful : let people look well into it, and they will see plainly that I am telling the truth. Wherein lies the highest perfection ? It is clear that it does not lie in interior delights, not in great raptures, not in visions, not in the spirit of prophecy, but in the conformity of our will to the will of God, so that there shall be nothing we know He wills that we do not will ourselves with our whole will, and accept the bitter as joyfully as the sweet, knowing it to be His Majesty's will. This seems to be very hard to do ; not the mere doing of it, but the being pleased in the doing of that which, according to our nature, is wholly and in every way against our will ; and certainly so it is ; but love, if perfect, is strong enough to do it, and we forget our own pleasure in order to please Him Who loves us so much. And truly it is so, for our sufferings, however great they may be, are sweet when we know that we are giving pleasure unto God ; and it is in this way they love who have attained to this state by persecutions, by dishonour, and by wrongs.

11. This is so certain, and remains so plain and evident, that there is no reason why I should dwell upon it. What I aim at showing is the reason, in my opinion, why obedience furnishes the readiest or the best way for

<sup>11</sup> According to the *Reforma* (bk. iv. ch. xvii. 5) this religious would have been Francis of the Conception, of the convent of La Roda, but as chronological difficulties render this identification doubtful others have thought, with, perhaps, greater probability, it was S. John of the Cross.

arriving at so blessed a state. That reason is this : as we are never absolute masters of our own will, so as to employ it purely and simply for God, till we subject it wholly to reason, obedience is the true means of bringing about that subjection ; which can never be brought about by much reasoning, because our nature and self-love can furnish so much on their side that we shall never come to an end, and very often will make that which is most reasonable, if we have no liking for it, to seem folly because we have no inclination to do it.

12. There is so much to be said of this inward struggle, that we shall never come to the end, and so many are the means which Satan, the world, and our flesh employs in order to warp our reason. Is there, then, any help for it ? Yes ; as in a very doubtful question of law men go to an arbitrator, and, weary of pleading, put the matter in his hands, so let the soul go to some one, whether it be the superior or the confessor, fully bent on pleading no further or thinking of its cause, but relying on the words of our Lord, who saith, ‘He that heareth you heareth Me,’<sup>12</sup> regardless of its own will. Our Lord makes so much of this submission, and justly so, for we make Him thereby Master of the free will He has given us ; for by the practice thereof, now conquering ourselves wholly, at other times after a thousand struggles, thinking the decisions given in our cause to be folly, we conform to that which is commanded us by the help of this painful exercise ; but at last, painfully or not, we do it, and our Lord on His part helps us so much, that as we submit our will and reason for His sake, so He makes us masters of them both.

13. We, then, being masters of ourselves, are able to

<sup>12</sup> S. Luc. x. 16. Qui vos audit, me audit.

give ourselves perfectly to God, offering to Him a pure will that He may unite it to His own, praying Him to send down from heaven the fire of His love to consume the sacrifice,<sup>13</sup> and putting everything away that may be displeasing unto Him : for now there is nothing more for us to do, seeing that, although with much labour, we have laid our offering on the altar, which, so far as it lies in our power, no longer touches the earth.

14. It is clear that no man can give that which he does not possess, as it is necessary he should have it before he can give it. Believe me, then, there is no better way of finding this treasure than that of toiling and digging so as to draw it forth out of the mine of obedience ; for the more we dig the more we shall find, and the more we subject ourselves to men, having no other will but that of those who are over us, the more we shall master our will so as to conform it to the will of God. Consider, my sisters, whether the pleasures of solitude abandoned be not amply repaid. I tell you that you will be none the worse for the loss of solitude in your preparation for attaining to that true union of which I am speaking, which is that of making our own will one with the will of God. This is the union I desire, and would have you all possess, and not certain raptures, full of delight, to which some are liable, and which they call union : and those raptures may be union, if, when they are over, they are followed by obedience ; but if after the raptures there ensues but scanty obedience, and self-will remains, this latter, as it seems to me, will be joined to self-love and not to the will of God. May His Majesty grant that I may act according to the knowledge I have in the matter !

<sup>13</sup> 3 Regg. xviii. 58. *Cecidit autem ignis Domini et voravit holocaustum.*



15. The second source<sup>14</sup> of this dissatisfaction, in my opinion, is that the soul seems to live in greater purity when left in solitude, because there are fewer opportunities therein of offending God ; some, however, there must be, for the evil spirits and we ourselves are everywhere. For if the soul is afraid of offending God, it is a very great consolation for it to meet with nothing to make it fall ; and certainly this seems to me a stronger reason for desiring to avoid all intercourse with the world than is that which is grounded on the fact, that solitude ministers great consolations and sweetness in God.

16. It is here, my children, love must be made known ; not in secret places, but in the midst of temptations : and trust me, our gain will be incomparably greater, though there may be more faults committed, and even some slight falls. Remember, in all I say I am taking for granted that you run these risks under obedience and out of charity, and if it be not so, my conclusion always is that to be alone is better ; and, moreover, we ought to desire to be alone even when employed in the way I am speaking of ; in truth, this desire is ever present in those souls which really love God. Why I say it again is this : it makes us know what we are, and how far our virtue can reach. A person always alone, however holy he may think himself to be, does not know whether he possesses patience and humility, and has no means of learning. A man may be very courageous, but how is it to be known if he has not been seen in battle ? S. Peter considered himself very brave, but look at him when he was tried : he, however, rose again after his fall, not trusting at all to himself ; and from henceforth placed all his confidence in God, and afterwards suffered martyrdom, as we know.

<sup>14</sup> See § 4, above.

17. O my God, if we but knew how great is our wretchedness ! There is danger in everything if we do not know it, and for that reason it is a great blessing to us that we are under authority, so that we may discern our own meanness. And I consider one day of humbling self-knowledge, which may have cost us much sorrow and distress, to be a greater grace of our Lord than many days of prayer ; moreover, he who is a true lover loves everywhere, and always remembers the object of his love. It would be hard if we could pray only in secret places. I see now that I cannot be alone for many hours. But, O my Lord ! how mighty before Thee is a single sigh rising up from the heart, because of the pain it gives to us to see that we have not only to tarry in this our exile, but also that we find no opportunity of being alone, so that we might alone have the fruition of Thyself.

18. Here it is plain that we are His slaves, sold for love of Him, with our own consent, to the virtue of obedience, seeing that for its sake we give up, in a certain way, the fruition of God Himself ; and it is nothing, if we consider that He, in obedience, came down from the bosom of the Father to make Himself a slave to us. How then can He be recompensed for this, or what service can we give Him in return for this grace ? It is necessary to be on our guard in our employments, though laid upon us by obedience and charity, lest we should be careless therein, not lifting up our hearts continually unto God. And, believe me, it is not length of time that enables a soul to make progress in prayer ; if it is given up to active work also, that is a great help whereby the soul in a very short time may attain to a better preparation for the enkindling of its love than it could attain to by many hours spent in meditation. All has to come from His hand. May He be blessed for ever and ever !

## CHAPTER VI

EXPLAINS THE HARM IT MAY DO SPIRITUAL PERSONS NOT TO KNOW WHEN THEY ARE TO RESIST THE SPIRIT.—OF THE DESIRE FOR COMMUNION, AND OF DELUSIONS INVOLVED IN IT.—IMPORTANT MATTERS FOR THOSE WHO RULE OVER THESE CONVENTS

1. False rapture.—2. Effects thereof.—3. Natural, not divine.—4. Melancholy.—5. Wherein this differs from a trance.—6. Advice to the prioresses.—7. Evil effects of this dreaminess.—8. Bodily health.—9. Loss resulting from this dreaminess.—10. Advice to superiors.—11. Story of two nuns.—12. Delusive longings for communion.—13. The Saint undertakes to dispel this delusion.—14. And succeeds.—15. Another instance.—16. Remedies by like means.—17. Liberty of spirit.—18. Dangers of this dreaminess.—19. Effects of self-love.—20. Story of a woman self-directed.—21. Obedience better than sacrifice.—22. The Saint's obedience to her confessors.—23. True devotion is calm.—24. Obedience.—25. None to judge themselves.

I. I HAVE been striving diligently to find out whence cometh a certain great dreaminess<sup>1</sup> which I have observed in some persons to whom our Lord gives much sweetness in prayer, and who do all they can to prepare themselves for the reception of His graces. I am not speaking now of those occasions during which His Majesty lifts up the soul and carries it away in rapture. I have written much of this in another place,<sup>2</sup> and of an act like this there is nothing to be said, though we may do all we can to resist, because we are utterly powerless : if it be a true rapture, it is to be observed that the force which forces us to lose all control over ourselves lasts but a moment. But it

<sup>1</sup> See Arbiol, *Desengaños Místicos*, lib. ii. ch. v. p. 198. Card. Bona, *De Discretione Spirituum*, ch. xiv. § 4, says : 'Interdum etiam raptus creditur ab inexpertis, quod est deliquium ; de quâ re diffuse tractat, et profert exempla S. Theresa in libro Foundationum.'

<sup>2</sup> See *Life*, ch. xx.

oftentimes happens that it begins in a kind of prayer of quiet, which is like a spiritual sleep, and which throws the soul into a dreamy state ; so that we, if we do not know what conduct to observe herein, may lose much time, and through our own fault waste our strength and merit little.

2. I wish I knew how to explain myself here, and the matter is so difficult that I know not if I shall succeed ; but I know well that if those souls who are in this delusion would but believe me, they would understand the matter. I know some, and they are souls of great virtue, who have been in this state seven or eight hours at a time, thinking it all to be a rapture, and whom every pious practice laid hold of in such a way that they went forthwith out of themselves, thinking it not right to offer any resistance to our Lord : in this way they might come by their death, or become foolish, if no remedy be found for them.<sup>3</sup>

3. What I understand of the matter is this : the soul, when our Lord begins to caress it in this way—and we are by nature so fond of that which pleases us—gives itself up so much to that pleasure, that it would not stir, move, nor on any account whatever would it consent to lose it : for in truth the pleasure is greater than all the pleasures in the world ; and when it happens to a person of weak constitution, or to one whose mind, or, to speak more correctly, whose imagination, is not naturally given to change, but one that dwells upon a subject without further distraction, once it has laid hold of him—as do many persons who, when they have fixed their thoughts on anything, though in nowise relating to God, become absent, having their eyes directed to an object before

<sup>3</sup> See *Interior Castle*, iv. M. ch. iii. 11 sqq.

them, but which they do not really see—people naturally sluggish, who, through negligence, seem to forget what they were going to say,—so is it in this case, according to our nature, disposition, or weakness. Oh, if a soul of this kind be given to melancholy ! it will become the prey of a thousand pleasing delusions.

4. Of this temper I shall speak a little later on ;<sup>4</sup> but even if there be none of it, what I have spoken of takes place, and in those persons also who are wasted by penance ; for, as I said before, when love begins to supply them with sensible sweetness, they suffer themselves, as I have just now said, to be carried away too much by it ; and, in my opinion, their love would be more perfect if they did not give way to this dreaminess, for they could very well resist it at this point in their prayer. For, as in bodily weakness we suffer from a faintness which allows us neither to speak nor to move, so is it here if we make no resistance ; for if the body be weak, the vehemence of the spirit seizes upon it and subdues it.

5. I may be asked, wherein does it differ from a trance ? It is the same thing with it, at least in appearance ; and they have reason to say so, but it is not so in reality. For a trance, or the union of all the powers of the soul, as I have said, lasts but a moment, and leaves great fruit behind, and an inward light, with many other blessings : the understanding does not work at all, only our Lord is working in the will. But in this state it is far otherwise ; for though the body be a prisoner, the will, memory, and understanding are not ; yet their operations are disorderly, and if by chance they settle on a particular subject, they will stay there.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> ch. vii.

<sup>5</sup> See *Life*, ch. xvii. 2, and ch. xviii. 14.



6. I see no good in this bodily weakness—for it is nothing else—except in so far as it has a good beginning ; it would be far better to spend the time in some good work than to be thus dreaming so long. There is much more merit in a single act, and in the frequent moving of the will to love God, than in leaving it at rest in this way. My advice therefore to the prioresses is, that they apply themselves with all diligence possible to the banishing of these protracted fits of dreaminess, which do nothing else, in my opinion, but blunt the faculties and the senses so that they shall not do that which the soul requires of them, and thereby rob them of that blessing which<sup>6</sup> carefulness to please our Lord ordinarily brings them. If they find it proceeds from weakness, then they must forbid fasting and mortification—that is, when not of obligation ; and the time may come when with a safe conscience they may forbid them altogether, and assign them duties in the house for the purpose of taking their attention away from themselves.

7. In the same way, also, must they be treated, who, though not subject to this faintness, are too much carried away by their imagination, even though it be on most deep matters of prayer ; for it happens at times that they are not mistresses of themselves, particularly if they have received any extraordinary grace from our Lord, or seen a vision ; then their soul seems to be always receiving or seeing : and yet it is not so, for that happened to them but once. It is necessary for her who may find herself liable to these faintings away to strive to change the subject of her meditation ; and provided she applies herself to the things of God in her meditation, there is

<sup>6</sup> ‘Obedience and’ added by the corrector, and afterwards scored through.

nothing unseemly in changing the subject so long as she is intent on the things of God ; for meditation on the creature, and on His power in creating them, may be at times as pleasing unto Him as meditation on Himself the Creator.

8. Oh, wretched misery of man ! such is it, because of sin, that even in what is good we must be measured and restrained, lest we should so ruin our health as to lose the fruition of it. And, in truth, it behoves many persons, whose heads or imaginations are weak, to know themselves, which is a greater service to our Lord, and most necessary. And if anyone sees that when her imagination dwells on a mystery of the Passion, or on the glory of heaven, or on any other matter of that kind, and remains for many days unable, though desirous of doing so, to think on any other, or to rouse herself from dwelling on it, she must know that she should distract herself as well as she can ; if not, the time will come when she will learn the harm she has done to herself, and that it is the result of what I am speaking of, either of great bodily weakness, or of the imagination, which is very much worse. For, as a person of disordered mind, if he applies himself to anything, is not master of himself—can neither withdraw his mind nor think of anything else, nor be influenced by reason, because his reason is not under control—so is it in this state ; the madness, however, is pleasant.

9. Oh, what great evils may ensue if such a person is subject to melancholy ! I see no good at all in this dreaminess, because the soul is endowed with a capacity for the fruition of God Himself. If, then, it be not for one of the causes I have mentioned, why should the soul, seeing that God is infinite, remain the captive of

one of His attributes or mysteries, when there is so much to occupy us? And all the while, the more of His works we meditate upon the more we discern His greatness.

10. I am not saying that in the course of one hour, or even of one day, we should meditate on many subjects, for that perhaps would result in fruit from none. As these questions are so difficult, I would not have you think that I am saying what it has not entered into my mind to say, or that you should take one thing for another. Certainly the right understanding of this chapter is so important, that though it is distressing to write it, I am not sorry to do so; and I wish everyone who shall not understand it the first time she reads it, not to shrink from reading it often, especially prioresses and mistresses of novices who have to direct the sisters in the way of prayer; for if they are not careful in the beginning, they will see that they require much time afterwards to redress weaknesses of this kind.

11. If I were to describe the great harm I have seen to result from this, you would see that I have reasons for insisting on it so much. One fact only will I give, and the rest can be gathered from it. In one of our monasteries were a choir nun and a lay sister,<sup>7</sup> both of them raised to a very high degree of prayer; they were also mortified, humble, and good, receiving many consolations from our Lord, together with many manifestations of His greatness. They were, particularly, so detached and so engrossed by His love, that there was no

<sup>7</sup> According to the *Reforma* (bk. vi, ch. xx.) the two nuns were Sister Alberta-Bautista, of the convent of Medina del Campo, who was professed 6th September 1569, filled the office of prioress from 1577 till 1580, and died 26th August 1583; and the lay sister Agnes of the Conception, professed 13th Nov. 1570, who died in 1592.

appearance of negligence—though we watched them very narrowly, considering our natural meanness—in answering to the graces which our Lord gave them. I have said so much of their goodness in order that they who have not so much may be the more afraid.

12. They began with great impetuous longings after our Lord, which they were not able to control ; they thought those longings were satisfied at communion, and so they obtained leave from their confessor to communicate frequently, and thereby their suffering grew so much upon them that they thought they were going to die if they could not communicate every day. The confessors—though one of them was a very spiritual man—seeing such souls, and such earnest desires, judged this remedy to be necessary for their disorder. It did not stop here, for the longings of one of them became so vehement as to make it necessary for her to communicate early in the morning to enable her, as she thought, to live ; and they were not persons who would feign, or tell a lie, for anything in the world. I was not then in that monastery, and the prioress<sup>8</sup> told me in a letter what was going on, that she could do nothing with them, and that certain persons said they might be relieved in that way, seeing that there was no help for it. I saw at once what the matter was—our Lord willed I should ; nevertheless, I kept silence till I arrived at the monastery, for I feared I might be mistaken, and until I could give my reasons, reason required I should make no opposition to those who had approved the conduct of the nuns.

13. One was so humble that, as soon as I arrived and had spoken to him, he believed me.<sup>9</sup> The other was not so spiritual, nor indeed spiritual at all in comparison.

<sup>8</sup> Agnes of Jesus,

<sup>9</sup> Probably Father Baltasar Alvarez,

There was no possible way of convincing him ; I did not care much for that, because I was not so much bound to consider him. I began to speak to the two nuns, gave them many reasons, in my opinion sufficient to make them see that it was a mere fancy their thinking they should die if they did not communicate. They were so wedded to their notion that nothing moved them, or could move them, in the way of reasoning with them. I saw that was useless, and told them that I too had these desires and yet would abstain from communion, that they might believe they were not to communicate except when all did—that we would all three die together ; for I thought that better than that a custom of this kind should be brought into these houses wherein lived those who loved God as much as they did, and who might wish to do what they were doing.

14. The harm which this custom of theirs had done reached so far—Satan must have had a hand in it—that when they did not communicate, they really seemed as if they were going to die. I showed great severity, for the more I saw they were not submissive under obedience, because they thought they could not keep it, the more clearly I saw it was a temptation. They spent that day in great distress, the next in somewhat less, and thus it went on lessening, so that, though I went to communion myself, because I was ordered—for I would not have done so when I saw them so weak—they bore it all exceedingly well. Shortly afterwards both they and the whole community saw it was a temptation, and what a blessing it was to have it remedied in time, for soon after this—but it was not the fault of the two nuns—there were troubles in that house with the superiors<sup>10</sup>—

<sup>10</sup> There was some trouble in 1571 between the Superiors of the Calced Carmelites and the Nuns of Medina on account of a novice.



and I may say something of them further on—who would not have taken in good part such customs, nor suffered them.

15. Oh, how many instances of this kind could I give ! I will give one other only ; not in a monastery of our order, but among the Cistercians.<sup>11</sup> There was a nun, not less good than those I have been speaking of, brought to such a state of weakness by discipline and fasting that every time she communicated, or whenever she had occasion for quickening her devotion, she fell down at once to the ground and there remained eight or nine hours, thinking it was a trance : all the nuns thought the same. This happened so often that great harm, I believe, must have come of it if it had not been taken care of. These trances were bruited abroad through the country ; I was very sorry when I heard of them, for it was our Lord's good pleasure to let me know what the matter was, and I feared the issue of it.

16. The confessor of that nun was a very great friend of mine, and came to me with the story. I told him what I thought of the matter, and how it was loss of time ; that it could not possibly be a trance, and that it was only weakness ; he should forbid the fast and the disciplines, and make her take some distraction. She, being an obedient nun, did so, and soon afterwards recovering her strength, thought no more of her trance : and if it had been a real trance there would have been no help for it until God wished it should cease ; because the vehemence of the spirit is so great that we have not strength enough to withstand it, and, as I said before,<sup>12</sup> it leaves behind in the soul a great work, and in the body

<sup>11</sup> Probably at Alcalá de Henares. *Interior Castle*, iv. M, ch. iii. 12.

<sup>12</sup> See § 5, above.

weariness ; the other is as if it had never taken place.

17. The lesson to be learnt from this is, that whatever masters us in such a way as to make us feel that our reason is not free, should be looked on as suspicious, and that we shall never in that way attain to liberty of spirit ; one of the characteristics of which is the finding God in all things, and the being able to think of Him in the midst of them. Everything but this is subjection of spirit, and, besides the harm it does to the body, it confines the soul and hinders its growth ; as when men travel and come to a quagmire or a marsh which they cannot pass, so is it, in a measure, with the soul, which, if it would make any progress, must not walk only but fly.

18. Oh, if they say or think they are absorbed in God, unable to exert themselves, so rapt are they, and unable to change the current of their thoughts, and that it often happens, let them look to it ; I warn them again and again, if it be so for a day, or for four, or for eight, there is no reason for fear, because it is nothing wonderful that a person of weak constitution should remain so long in a state of amazement ; if it continues longer, measures must be taken. The good side of this is, that there is no guilt of sin and no loss of merit ; but it involves the inconveniences I have mentioned, with many besides. As to communions, there will be a very grave inconvenience if a soul, because of its love, is not obedient with it to the confessor and the prioress ; nevertheless it may regret the privation, not in excess, so as not to come to that. It is necessary also herein, as in other ways, to mortify them, and make them understand that it is better for them not to do their own will than to have this consolation.

19. Our self-love also may thrust itself in here. It has been so with me ; for it has happened to me often when I had first communicated, the Host being still almost whole, to wish I had not communicated myself when I saw others do so, in order that I might communicate again. As this happened so often, I reflected on it after a time, for then there seemed no reason for dwelling on it, and saw it came more from my own satisfaction than from any love of God ; for when we go to communion there is a sense, for the most part, of tenderness and joy, and I was carried away thereby. If I went to communion in order to have God in my soul, I had Him already ; and if out of obedience to those who enjoined communion, I had done so, if for the purpose of receiving those graces which in the Most Holy Sacrament are given us, these also I had received. In short, I came clearly to understand that it was nothing else but a desire to obtain that sensible sweetness over again.

20. This reminds me that in a place where I was once staying, and where there is a monastery of our order, I knew a woman who was a very great servant of God ; everybody said so, and it must have been true. She went every day to communion, and had no confessor in particular, but went to one church for communion to-day, and the next to another. I observed that, and wished to see her obeying one confessor rather than going often to communion. She lived by herself, and, as it seemed to me, doing what she liked ; but as she was good herself, all was good. I used to speak to her sometimes of this, but she did not heed me, and justly so, for she was far better than I was ; however, I did not think I was in the wrong. The holy friar, Peter of Alcantara, came

thither,<sup>13</sup> and I made him speak to her, and was not pleased with the account she gave him,—as to that, it may be nothing more than our misery in being never much pleased with any persons but those whose ways are the same as ours, for this woman, I believe, served our Lord more, and in one year did more penance, than I in many. She fell into a sickness which was unto death—this is what I am coming to—and found means to have mass said every day in her house and to receive the Most Holy Sacrament. As her illness lasted some time, a priest who frequently said the mass, and a great servant of God, thought it not right to allow of this daily communion in a house. It must have been a temptation of the devil, for it happened on her last day, that on which she died. When she saw mass ended, and herself without our Lord, she was so displeased and so angry with the priest, who came, greatly scandalised, to tell me of it. I was very sorry, for I do not know whether she ever went to confession again. I believe she died immediately afterwards.

21. From this I understood the evil that comes from doing our own will in anything, especially in a matter of this importance; for if a person draws near to receive our Lord so often, it is only reasonable he should be so aware of his own unworthiness as not to do so of his own will, and that our shortcomings, necessarily great, which make us unfit to approach our Lord, who is so great, can be supplied only by obedience, which bids us receive Him. This good woman had an opportunity of greatly humbling herself—and perhaps of meriting more thereby

<sup>13</sup> As S. Peter of Alcantara died 18th Oct. 1562, the facts related by the Saint in the text must have taken place when she was yet a nun in the monastery of the Incarnation.

than if she had communicated—by considering that it was no fault of the priest, but that our Lord, seeing her wretchedness, and how unworthy she was to receive Him in a lodging so mean, had so ordained it.

22. That was what one person thought, when her wise confessors from time to time would not let her communicate because she did so too often. Though she felt it keenly, yet, on the other hand, she preferred the honour of God to her own, and did nothing but praise Him for having moved her confessor to watch over her, and to see that His Majesty did not go into so wretched a lodging. By the help of such reflections she obeyed in great peace of soul, though with a tender and loving pain ; but for all the whole world she never would have done what she was forbidden to do.<sup>14</sup>

23. Believe me that love of God—I do not say it is love, but only that it seems so—if it stirs our feelings in such a way as to end in some offence against Him, or in so troubling the peace of the loving soul that it cannot listen to reason, is plainly self-seeking only ; and Satan will not sleep over his work when he thinks he can do us the most harm, as he did to this woman ; for certainly what happened to her alarmed me greatly, not because I believe that it was enough to imperil her salvation, for the goodness of God is great, but the temptation came at a very dangerous time.

24. I have spoken of it in this place that the prioress may be on her guard, and that the sisters may fear and consider, and examine themselves why they draw near to receive so great a gift. If to please God, they know

<sup>14</sup> It may be safely gathered from the praise of the confessors, and the contempt of self expressed in this passage, that the Saint is speaking of herself.



already that He is better pleased by obedience than by sacrifice.<sup>15</sup> If that be so, and I merit more, why am I troubled? I do not say that they are not to feel a lowly sorrow, because all have not attained to the perfection of feeling none merely by doing that which they know to be the more pleasing unto God; for if the will is perfectly detached from all selfish considerations, it is clear that there will be no sense of pain; on the contrary, there will be a great joy because the opportunity has arrived for giving pleasure to our Lord by so costly a sacrifice; the soul will humble itself, and be satisfied with communicating spiritually. But as in the beginnings, and in the end too, it is of the goodness of our Lord that we have these great desires of drawing near unto Him, souls may be allowed to feel some uneasiness and pain when they are refused communion, yet they must possess their souls in peace, and make acts of humility because of that refusal. I say beginnings, because much must be made thereof, and because the sisters are not so strong in the other matters pertaining to perfection of which I have been speaking.

25. But if there should be any trouble, or anger, or impatience with the prioress or confessor, believe me the desire for communion is a plain temptation. Now, if any one is bent on communicating when the confessor has forbidden her to go to communion, I would not have the merit she may gain thereby, because in such matters as this we must not be judges for ourselves. He is to be the judge who has the power of binding and loosing. May it please our Lord to give us light, that we may be wise in matters of so much importance; and may we never be without His help, that we may not use His graces so as to turn them into occasions of displeasing Him.

<sup>15</sup> 1 Reg. xv. 22: 'Melior est enim obedientia quam victimæ.'

## CHAPTER VII

HOW TO TREAT THOSE WHO SUFFER FROM MELANCHOLY. THIS CHAPTER IS NECESSARY FOR THE PRIORESSES

1. Evil effects of melancholy.—2. Melancholy an instrument of Satan.—3. How it is to be corrected.—4. Dangers of it.—5. Need of sharp remedies.—6. Merit of endurance.—7. Melancholy to be treated as madness.—8. A disease.—9. Remedies for it.—10. Prayer of the melancholy to be shortened.—11. Why the Saint dwells so much on it.—12. The second reason.

1. THESE my sisters of S. Joseph's in Salamanca, where I am staying while writing this,<sup>1</sup> have pressed me much to say something about the treatment of melancholy; for, however careful we may be not to admit nuns subject to it, the disease is so subtle that it counterfeits death whenever it is necessary, and accordingly we do not find it out till it is too late. I think I have said something about it in a little book of mine:<sup>2</sup> I do not remember: if I speak of it now there can be no harm, if our Lord will be pleased to help me to do it aright. It may be that I have said it already at some other time: I would say it a hundred times if I thought I could once say anything that would be of any use. The devices which this temper searches out for the purpose of doing its own will are so many that it becomes necessary to look into

<sup>1</sup> It was in the year 1573, and after August 24 of that year, the Saint being at the time prioress of the monastery of the Incarnation, Avila.

<sup>2</sup> *Way of Perfection*, ch. xxiv. 3. It has been suggested that S. Teresa wrote a special treatise on 'Melancholy' as she only alluded to the subject in the *Way of Perfection*; but it is now generally admitted that in writing the passage in the text her memory must have been at fault.

them, to enable us to bear with it and control it, lest it should do a mischief to others.

2. It is to be observed that they are not all so troublesome who are subject to melancholy ; for humble and gentle persons thus afflicted, though very troublesome to themselves, never do any harm to others, especially if they have good sense. And, moreover, there are varieties of this temper. I verily believe that Satan lays hold of it in some people as a means whereby to draw them to himself if he can, and he will do so if they are not very careful : for, as the chief work of this temper is to bring reason under its control, which then becomes obscured, what then, under such conditions, will our passions not do ? They who have no reason, it seems, must be mad, and so it is ; but in those of whom we are now speaking the evil has not gone so far, and it would be a much less evil if it had ; for to be obliged to live as a reasonable person, and treat another as reasonable who has no reason, is an unendurable hardship. Those who are altogether sick of this malady are to be pitied, but they do no harm ; and, if there be any means whereby they may be kept under control, those means are fear.

3. Those in whom this evil, which is so hurtful, has only begun, though it may not have gained so much strength, yet as it has the same nature and source, and because it grows from the same root, it must be treated in the same way if other remedies be not sufficient ; the prioresses must have recourse to the penances in force in the order, and strive to bring under subjection nuns who thus suffer, that they may feel they are never, and in nothing, to do their own will ; for if they find that their clamour, and the despondency into which Satan casts them for the purpose of driving them if he can to

destruction, can at any time prevail, they are lost, and one sister in this state is enough to disquiet a monastery. As the poor soul has nothing in herself that can help her to defend herself against the suggestions of the evil one, the prioress must be very watchful in her direction of her, not only outwardly but inwardly also, for reason, which in the sickly sister is already darkened, ought to be the more clear in the prioress, that the devil, making use of this weakness, may not bring that soul under his own power.

4. The matter is dangerous ; for at times this temper is so overbearing as to conquer reason, and there is no sin then, as there is none in madmen, whatever disorders they may commit ; but it is necessary that those sisters who are not so overcome, in whom reason is only weakened, not lost altogether, and who are good at other times, should not, on those occasions when they are afflicted, begin to take any liberties, lest they should be unable when well to control themselves, for the cunning of Satan is fearful. And accordingly, if we look into it, we shall find that what they are most given to is the doing of their own will, saying whatever comes into their head, observing the faults of others that they may hide their own, and amusing themselves with that wherein they find pleasure ; in short, they are like a person without the power of self-restraint. Then, with passions unmortified, and everybody bent on having their own way, what will be the result if there be none to control them ?

5. I say it again, for I have seen, and have had much to do with, many persons troubled with this disease, that there is no other remedy but to conquer them by every way and means in our power. If words be not

enough, have recourse to penances, and let them be heavy if light penances will not do : if one month's imprisonment be not enough, let them be shut up for four ; you cannot do their souls a greater service. For, as I said before, and say again, it concerns them to understand this : though once or occasionally they may not be able to restrain themselves, it is not a confirmed madness, whereby all blame is taken away ; though it may be so at times, yet it is not so always, and the soul is in great danger unless, as I say, they are so deprived of their reason as to do or say those things which they do or say when they cannot help themselves. It is of the great compassion of God that those who are thus disordered are obedient to their superior, for all their good consists in that amid the dangers I speak of. And, for the love of God, let her, whoever she may be, that reads this, look into it, for it may perhaps concern her salvation.

6. I know some who very nearly lost their senses, but who are so humble in spirit, and so afraid of offending God, that, though in secret they waste away in weeping, yet do only what they are commanded, and bear their infirmity like the others. But this is a greater martyrdom, and they will therefore have a greater glory, and in this life their purgatory that they may not have it in the next. But I say it again, that they who will not do this with a willing heart must be compelled to submit by the prioress, and they must not delude themselves by their indiscreet devotions in their disorderliness so as to be a trouble to all their sisters. It must be done, because of another very grave evil over and above the danger to the weak sister herself : for when the others see her, to all appearance in good health, not knowing what her soul suffers interiorly from the violence of her disorder



—we are naturally so miserable—they will all think themselves subject to melancholy, that they may be borne with in the same way : moreover, Satan will make them think so, and the havoc he will then make will be, when found out, very difficult to undo. So important is this that no negligence ought to be tolerated in the matter, and the melancholy sister, if disobedient to the superior, must suffer for it as if she were in her right mind, and nothing must be forgiven her : if she speaks in an unbecoming manner to any of her sisters she must be punished as the others, and for every imperfection of the same kind.

7. It seems unjust to punish the sick sister, when she cannot help herself, as if she were well : so does it also to bind madmen and to correct them, instead of leaving them free to kill everybody. Trust me, for I have tried it, and I believe have had recourse to many remedies, but never found any other than this. And the prioress who, out of pity, will have allowed these to begin with taking liberties, will not be able to bear with them in the end ; and when she comes to correct them she will find that much harm has been done to the others. If madmen are bound and chastised to keep them from killing people (and that is rightly done ; yea, and seems a great kindness, because they cannot help themselves), how much more must these sickly sisters be looked after, that they, with the liberties they take, may not do harm to the souls of others ! And I really believe that the mischief comes very often, as I am saying, from a spirit undisciplined, wanting in humility, and badly trained, and that the melancholy temper is not so strong as this. I say it is so in some, for I have seen them obey, and control themselves in the presence of one they fear ; why, then, not do as much for God ?

8. I am afraid that Satan, under the pretence of this temper, seeks to gain many souls. It is more common in our day than it used to be ; the reason is that all self-will and licence are now called melancholy. I have therefore thought that in these houses, and in all houses of religion, this word should never be uttered, because it seems to bring licence with it, and that the disorder it implies should be called a serious illness—and how serious it is !—and treated accordingly ; for it is very necessary at times to correct the peccant humours by the use of medicines to make them tolerable ; and the sister should be in the infirmary, and be made to understand that when she comes out to join the community she must be humble and obedient like everybody else, and that if she is not her melancholy shall be no defence for her, because that is necessary for the reasons I have given, and I might give more. It is necessary that the prioress, but without letting them know it, should treat them with great tenderness, like a true mother, and search out every means she can to cure them.

9. I seem to be contradicting myself, for I have been hitherto saying that they are to be severely dealt with. So I say again ; they should never be allowed to feel that they may have their own way, neither should they have it, it being a settled thing that they shall be obedient, for the evil consists in their feeling that they can have liberty. However, the prioress may refrain from laying upon them a command which she knows they will disobey ; because they are not strong enough to do violence to themselves ; she should manage them and influence them by affection to do that which is required of them, in order, if possible, to make them submit out of affection, which will be far better, and is generally

successful when the prioress shows them much affection, and makes them feel it by her acts and words.

10. And the superiors must see that the best remedy within their reach is to employ them largely in the duties of the house, that they may have no opportunity of giving way to their imagination, for all the mischief is there ; and though they may not do their work very well, their faults must be borne with, in order that there may be no occasion for bearing with greater after they shall have been ruined. I know this to be the most complete remedy that can be furnished them. Means also must be found to keep them in general from spending too much time in prayer, seeing that for the most part their imagination is weak, and that will do them much harm ; if that be not done, they will be filled with fancies, which neither they nor those who may hear of them will ever be able to understand.

11. Care must be taken that they eat fish but rarely, and it is necessary also that they should not fast so much as the others. It may seem superfluous to give so much advice about this evil and none about any other, when the evils of our wretched lives are so grievous, especially those arising from the weakness of women. There are two reasons for it : the first is, they think themselves well, for they will not confess that they suffer from this disorder ; and as their illness, not being a fever, forces them neither to keep their bed nor to call in the physician, the prioress must be their physician, for the disease is more hurtful to perfection than is theirs who, in danger of their life, remain in their beds.

12. The second reason is, that in other illnesses they either recover or die ; but it is very rarely that people recover from this or die of it either, but they lose all

sense, and that is a death which kills all the others. They carry about within themselves a cruel death of sorrows, fancies, and scruples, and therefore merit very much thereby, though they always call them temptations ; for if they were once persuaded that all flows out of this one evil they would be greatly relieved, provided they made no account of it. Deeply, indeed, do I feel for them, and it is right that all who are living with them should feel for them in the same way, considering that our Lord might have visited us with a like affliction ; and above all, bearing with them, as I said just now,<sup>3</sup> without letting them know that we are doing so. May our Lord grant that I have found out what ought to be done with so grave a malady !

## CHAPTER VIII

### TREATS OF SOME ADVICE CONCERNING REVELATIONS AND VISIONS

1. Timid confessors.—2. Evil visions.—3. The Saint's own experience.  
—4. The Saint satisfied by Father Bañez.—5. Abuse of visions.  
—6. How to baffle Satan.—7. Women most liable to delusions.—  
8. The Saint detects a delusion.—9. Instance of delusion detected.  
—10. Visions and revelations to be kept secret.

1. SOME people seem to be alarmed when they hear the mere word visions or revelations. I know not why they look on a soul which God is leading on by that way to be in so perilous a road, nor whence this terror comes. I am not now going to discuss visions, which of them are good and which of them are evil, nor will I speak of the tests for distinguishing them which most learned

<sup>3</sup> See § 8 above.

men have told me of, but only of that which it would be well if every one did who should find herself the subject of them, because she will meet with few confessors who will not make her afraid. Certainly a confessor who is told of the manifold temptations of Satan, of a spirit of blaspheming, disorderly and unseemly thoughts, is not so much surprised by all this as he is scandalised when told that we have seen an angel, or heard him speak, or that Jesus Christ our Lord has appeared to us on the cross.

2. Neither will I discuss here the tests by which we may know if the revelations be from God, for that is already known by the great blessings they bring to the soul ; but only these images which Satan effects for the purpose of deceiving us when he assumes the likeness of Christ our Lord or of His saints. I am persuaded myself that His Majesty will never suffer him, nor give him the power, to deceive anybody by such resemblance, unless such a person be himself to blame ; on the contrary, Satan will but deceive himself. I repeat it, nobody will be deceived if only they are humble ;<sup>1</sup> there is therefore no reason for being downcast, only let us trust in our Lord, and make no account of these resemblances unless it be that we make them an occasion of praising Him more and more.

3. I know of one whose confessors troubled her exceedingly because of these things, which afterwards, as far as might be known by the great fruit and good issues of them, were felt to be the work of God. It was very hard for her, when she beheld His image in a vision, to make the sign of the cross and treat that image with contempt ; for so she had been commanded

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is in the margin, but in S. Teresa's own hand.



to do.<sup>2</sup> At a later time she spoke of it to a deeply learned Dominican, the master Fray Dominic Bañez, who told her it was wrong, and that nobody ought to do that, because it is right to venerate the image of our Lord wherever we may see it, even if the devil himself had been the painter—and he is a great painter : on the contrary, he is doing us a service, though seeking to do us a mischief, if he paints a crucifix or an image so lifelike as to leave an impression of it behind in our hearts.

4. This reason pleased me greatly, for when we see a very good picture, even though we may know it to have been painted by a bad man, we do not fail to respect it, and we make no account of the painter, that we may not lose our devotion ; for the good or the evil is not in the vision, but in him to whom it is given, and who does not profit by it in humility ; for if he is humble the vision even if it came from Satan can do him no harm, and if he is not humble it will do him no good even if it comes from God ; for if that which should make the soul humble—seeing that it does not merit that grace—makes it proud, that soul is like the spider, the food of which is all turned into poison, and not like the bee, which turns it all into honey.

5. I wish to explain myself further : if our Lord of His goodness is pleased to show himself to any soul, in order that it may know Him and love Him the more, or to reveal to it any of His secrets, or to give it any special consolations and graces ; and if that soul, as I have just said, bound to abase itself and confess the scanty merits of its vileness, looks forthwith upon itself

<sup>2</sup> It was the Saint herself, as she tells us in the *Life*, ch. xxix. 6, and *Interior Castle*, vi. M. ch. ix. 11.

as a saint, and, because of some service or other it may have done, thinks that this grace has been given it, it is plain that, like the spider, it changes the great blessing which might have been the fruit of the visions into something evil.

6. Let us admit, then, for a moment, that Satan, for the purpose of stirring up pride, brings about these apparitions ; yet if the soul at the time, thinking they come from God, humbles itself, and confesses itself undeserving of a grace so great, and does violence to itself that it may serve Him better ; if, when it sees itself rich, confessing itself unworthy to eat the crumbs that fall from the table of those persons of whom it has heard that they have received these graces from God—I mean unworthy to be the servant of any of them—it humbles itself, and begins in earnest to do penance, and to give itself more unto prayer, and to be more careful never to offend our Lord—for it thinks it is He who is the giver of this grace—and to be more perfect in its obedience—then I assure it that Satan will never come again, but will go away defeated, leaving behind him no trace of evil in the soul. If one is told to do anything, or has a revelation of what is coming, she must refer it all to a learned and wise confessor, and do and believe nothing but that which the confessor permits. Let her speak to the prioress that she may send her a prudent confessor, and let her take his advice ; if she does not obey the confessor, and allow herself to be directed by him, it comes from an evil spirit or a terrible melancholy. For, supposing the confessor were in the wrong, she would do better by not departing from what he tells her, though it was an angel of God who had been speaking to her, for our Lord will give him light or provide for the

fulfilment of his word ; there is no danger in doing this, but in doing otherwise there may be many dangers and much evil.<sup>3</sup>

7. It should be considered that natural weakness is very weak, especially in women,<sup>4</sup> and that it shows itself the more in this way of prayer ; it therefore becomes necessary we should not at once take it for granted that every little fancy we may have is a vision ; for, believe me, the vision when true will make itself understood. Much greater caution is necessary when they are subject to melancholy, for I have known fancies of that kind that have frightened me ; for people may think seriously that they see what they do not see. There came to me once a confessor who had heard the confession of a certain person who told him that Our Lady often came to her, sat down on her bed, remained talking to her more than an hour, and told her things to come, and much besides ;

<sup>3</sup> Jerome Gratian of the Mother of God—Lucidario, pt. 2, ch. xiii. fol. 75—says that he once begged the Saint to pray for light in a matter of very great importance. The Saint obeyed, and the answer was that the thing was to be done. ‘Nevertheless,’ says the father, ‘I did not do it, guiding myself by my reason. The Saint was silent and obeyed, for she was then my subject ; but afterwards, doubting of the correctness of my conduct in disregarding the revelation, I asked her again to pray that we might know whether we were doing right. The answer to me was that our Lord had spoken to her thus : “Thou hast done well to obey, for in so doing none can go wrong ; what I said in the beginning was much better, but that which thou hast done under obedience I will make more fruitful, though it may cost thee more labour.” And so it came to pass.’

<sup>4</sup> Major cautio erga fœminas adhibenda, quarum sexus eo suspectior est quo imbecillior. Naturæ sunt humidioris, ut ex vehementiâ cogitationum et affectuum putant se videre quæ cupiunt, et quod ab animi perturbationibus nascitur, quæ in ipsis acerrimæ sunt, a veritate oriri credunt : cumque ratione minus polleant, non est difficile diabolo earum nativâ imbecillitate uti, ut eas primum variis illusionibus decipiat, et per easdem alios in errores inducat (Card. Bona, *de Discretione Spirituum*, ch. xx. § 3).

amid so much folly some things were found to be true, and so everything else was believed.

8. I saw at once what it was, but I did not dare to speak, because we are living in a world wherein it is necessary to consider what people may think of us if our words are to have any effect. Accordingly, I said to the confessor that we should wait to see whether the prophecies were true, that he should ask for other tests, and find out what sort of a life that person was living ; in the end it was found out to be all foolishness.

9. I could say so much of these things as would be ample for the proof of what I am saying, that a soul should not believe at once, but should bide its time, and examine itself carefully before it makes its visions known, lest it should, without the wish to do so, deceive its confessor ; for if he has had no experience himself herein, however learned he may be, he will never be able to understand it. It is not many years ago, but very lately, that a man disturbed exceedingly some very learned and spiritual persons with matters of this kind ; at last he went to speak to one who had had experience of these gifts of our Lord, and who saw clearly that it was madness with delusions. However, the matter was not exposed at the time, but kept most secret ; by degrees our Lord made it thoroughly known ; but that person who saw into the matter had much to suffer first, because nobody would believe him.<sup>5</sup>

10. For these reasons, and others of the same kind,

<sup>5</sup> Isabel of S. Dominic relates in her deposition for the process of beatification that in 1565 a farmer, supposed to be moved by the spirit of God, caused a good deal of disturbance in the neighbourhood of Avila. He was brought to the convent of S. Joseph and had a conversation with S. Teresa who was by no means convinced of the reality of his supernatural experiences. Soon after he was convicted of superstitious practices and punished by the ecclesiastical authority. *Oeuvres*, iii. 140.

it is the duty of each sister to make known to the prioress with great openness her way of prayer, and the latter must carefully consider the temper of that sister and the degree of perfection to which she may have attained, that she may instruct the confessor so as to enable him to understand her better ; and she should choose a confessor for the purpose if the ordinary confessor is not sufficiently acquainted with things of this kind. She must be very careful that matters such as these revelations and visions, though most truly from God, and graces confessedly miraculous, be not divulged to persons outside the monastery, nor to confessors who have not the wisdom to keep them secret, for this is a most serious point, and more serious than they think, nor may the sisters discuss them among themselves. The prioress herself must be always ready to listen prudently, more inclined, however, to commend those who excel in humility, mortification, and obedience than those whom God is leading by this most supernatural way of prayer, though they may be endowed with every other virtue. For, if it be the spirit of our Lord that is working in them, He brings in His train humility to enable them to bear neglect with joy, and such treatment therefore will not harm them, and does great good to the others. As they cannot attain to these extraordinary graces, for God gives them to whom He will, let their anxiety be for the attainment of other virtues, for, though these also are the gift of God, they are more in our power, and are of great worth in religion. May His Majesty bestow them upon us ! If we exercise ourselves in them, are diligent in the pursuit of them, and in prayer for them, He will not refuse them to any one who, in reliance on His compassion, shall labour to attain to them.



## CHAPTER IX

SHE LEAVES MEDINA DEL CAMPO FOR THE FOUNDATION OF  
S. JOSEPH OF MALAGON

1. Religious observance of Medina—2. Doña Luisa de la Cerda.—  
3. The Saint accepts the house offered by Doña Luisa.—4.  
Observance of poverty.—5. Foundation, April 11, 1568.

1. How I have wandered from my purpose ! and yet some of the advice I have given may be more to the purpose than the account of the foundations. During my stay in the house of S. Joseph in Medina del Campo,<sup>1</sup> it was a great joy to me to see how the sisters were walking in the way of those of S. Joseph's of Avila, in all religious observances, sisterly love, and spirituality ; and how our Lord was providing in the house what was necessary for the church as well as for the sisters. Nuns came in whom our Lord seems to have chosen Himself, such as became the foundation of such a building : I think that all the good that is to come lies in these beginnings, for those who come in afterwards walk in the way which they find prepared for them.

2. There lived in Toledo a lady, sister of the duke of Medina Celi, and in whose house I had been staying by the commandment of my superiors, as I have largely set forth in the account of the foundation of S. Joseph's.<sup>2</sup> She conceived a special affection for me, and that must have been in some way a means to move her to do what

<sup>1</sup> From the Assumption to the end of October 1567.

<sup>2</sup> Doña Luisa de la Cerda, sister of Don Juan de la Cerda, duke of Medina Celi and widow—since 18 January 1561,—of Don Arias Pardo de Saavedra, lord of Malagon. She lost six of her seven children in their infancy. See *Life*, ch. xxxiv. 1 and *passim*.

she did, for His Majesty very often makes use of means which to us who know not what is coming seem to be of little worth. When this lady heard that I had authority to found monasteries, she began to press me very much to found one in the town of Malagon,<sup>3</sup> which belonged to her. I would not hear of it at all, because it was so small a place, and because I should be forced to accept an endowment for our maintenance, and I had a very great dislike to do that.

3. I. laid the matter before learned men and my confessor ;<sup>4</sup> they told me I was in the wrong, for the holy council<sup>5</sup> authorised the possession of revenues ;

<sup>3</sup> See ch. iii. 17 note.

<sup>4</sup> Fray Dominic Bañez.

<sup>5</sup> Concédit sancta synodus omnibus monasteriis et domibus, tam virorum quam mulierum et mendicantium—exceptis domibus fratrum Sancti Francisci Cappucinatorum et eorum qui Minorum de observantiâ vocantur—etiam quibus aut ex constitutionibus suis erat prohibitum, aut ex privilegio Apostolico non erat concessum, ut deinceps bona immobilia eis possidere liceat (*Concil. Trident.*, sess: 25, de Regular. cap. 3).

The saint obtained permission for this foundation from the provincial, Fray Alonso González, dated Moraleja, 24th March 1568. The contract with Doña Luisa de la Cerda, bearing date 30th March 1568, is preserved in the archives of the convent. The foundation took place in a large house adjoining the plaza mayor, but its situation was not conducive to recollection. Consequently another site was chosen, towards the south of the town, but at some distance from the more frequented thoroughfares. The foundress left S. Teresa a free hand to choose as much ground as she thought necessary, and to trace the lines on which the building was to be carried out. For this reason Malagon must be considered the model of what, in the ideas of S. Teresa, a Carmelite convent should be, for at no other foundation did she enjoy a similar opportunity. She settled the number of olive trees and the size of the cornfields required for the maintenance of the nuns. The foundress agreed to build the chapel and convent for the sum of 8,500 ducats. The builder, Nicolas de Vergara, undertook to make the foundation walls four feet thick, those of the convent three, the ground-floor thirteen feet high, the upper storey ten, with walls of proportionate thickness ; the belfry to carry two bells. In the cloister there were to

that I ought not, because of any opinion I held on the subject, to give up the foundation of a house wherein our Lord might be so well served. Added to this were the urgent requests of that lady, and I could therefore do no less than accept the foundation. She gave us a sufficient endowment, for I always wished the monasteries to be either altogether poor or to possess enough so that the nuns should never be forced to beg of anybody for that which might be necessary for them.

4. I insisted with all my might that no nun should possess anything of her own, and on the perfect observance of the constitutions as in other houses founded in poverty. When all the deeds were drawn up I sent for certain sisters<sup>6</sup> for the foundation, and went with the lady to Malagon, but the house was not yet prepared for us, and so we were lodged for more than a week in one of the rooms of the castle.

be ten columns of granite of the Ionic order. S. Teresa arrived at Malagon on 25th November 1579 only to find the building very backward. She spent her days sitting on a stone facing the future convent (the spot is now marked by a small chapel where a lamp is kept burning before the image of the Saint, and mass is said here from time to time), watching and animating the workmen. Consequently the convent was completed in time for the inauguration to take place on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, 8th December 1579. S. Teresa remained there till the middle of February 1580. This was her eighth and last visit to Malagon. No other convent has remained so entirely unaltered since her time.

<sup>6</sup> The Saint left Alcalá for Toledo before Lent, 1568, with the two nuns, Anne of the Angels and Antonia of the Holy Ghost, and sent to Avila for Mary of the Blessed Sacrament, Mary Magdalen, Isabel of Jesus and Isabel of S. Joseph. She left Toledo in Lent, and reached Malagon before Passion Sunday with her nuns, and Doña Luisa came with them (*Ribera*, bk. ii. ch. xi). While looking for a site for her monastery with the parish priest and the mayor, she said when they came to a convenient spot, 'This must be left for the barefooted friars of S. Francis.' Some years afterwards those friars came to Malagon, and built their monastery there (*Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. xi. 3).

5. On Palm Sunday, [11th April] 1568, the parishioners came in procession to receive us, and we in our white mantles, with our veils over our faces, went with them to the church, where a sermon was preached, and from which the Most Holy Sacrament was carried into our monastery. It was a cause of much devotion in all. I remained there some days. One day in prayer, after communion, I heard our Lord say that He would be greatly honoured in that house. I think I was there not quite two months,<sup>7</sup> for I was pressed in spirit to found the house in Valladolid; and the reason was what I am going now to tell.

## CHAPTER X

### THE FOUNDATION IN VALLADOLID OF THE MONASTERY OF THE CONCEPTION OF OUR LADY OF CARMEL

1.—The Saint accepts a house near Valladolid.—2. Sudden death of Don Bernardino.—3. The Saint arrives at Valladolid 10th August.—4. The first mass.—5. The Saint sees the soul of Don Bernardino in a vision.—6. Illness of the Community.—7. The nuns remove to the new house, 3rd February 1569.—8. The story of a widow and her children.—9. Family vanity.—10. Don Antonio de Padilla.—11. Poverty.—12. One sister renounces her inheritance in favour of her youngest sister.—13. The younger sister's history.—14. She will give up the world.—15. And enter into religion.

1. FOUR or five months before the foundation of the monastery of S. Joseph in Malagon, a young man,<sup>1</sup> a

<sup>7</sup> The Saint came to Malagon in the very beginning of April, and, according to her letter to Doña Luisa de la Cerda went away on 19th May (Letter of 18th May 1568). The first prioress of Malagon was Mother Anne of the Angels, whom the Saint had taken years before from the monastery of the Incarnation, Avila (*Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. xi. 8).

<sup>1</sup> Don Bernardino de Mendoza, brother of the Bishop of Avila, belonging to the family of the Counts of Ribadavia. He had known S. Teresa at Avila and given costly vestments to the convent of S. Joseph.

member of a noble family, talking to me, said, that if I would found a monastery in Valladolid he would joyfully give a house he had there with a large and fine garden, within which was a considerable vineyard, and possession of it at once; it was of great value. I accepted it, but I had not fully made up my mind to make a foundation there, because it was a quarter of a league from the city.<sup>2</sup> I thought, however, we might make our way into the city if once we had possession of that place and, as he made the offer so generously, I was unwilling to refuse it or to trouble his devotion.

2. About two months after this, more or less, he became suddenly and rapidly ill, lost the power of speaking, and was unable to make his confession clearly, though he was, as he showed by many signs, praying to our Lord for pardon. He very soon died, far enough from the place where I was then staying.<sup>3</sup> Our Lord spoke to me and said that his salvation had been in serious danger, and that He had had compassion upon him because of the good work he had done for His Mother in giving his house for a monastery of her order; nevertheless he would be detained in purgatory till the first mass should be said there, when he would be delivered. The dread penalties of this soul were so constantly before me that, though I wished to found a house

<sup>2</sup> Nuns are forbidden by the council of Trent to live outside cities. . . . Et quia monasteria sanctimonialium, extra mœnia urbis vel oppidi constituta, malorum hominum prœdæ et aliis facinoribus, sine ullâ sæpe custodiâ sunt exposita, curent episcopi et alii superiores, si ita videbitur expedire, ut sanctimoniales ex eis ad nova vel antiqua monasteria intra urbes vel oppida frequentia reducantur, invocato etiam auxilio, si opus fuerit, brachii sæcularis. (Sess. xxv. de reg. et mon., c. 5.)

<sup>3</sup> Don Bernardino died in Ubeda, when the Saint was in the monastery of Maria of Jesus, in Alcalá de Henares (*Ribera*, bk. ii. ch. xii.).



in Toledo,<sup>4</sup> I gave it up for the time, and made all the haste I could to found, as well as I could, the house in Valladolid.

3. It could not be done so quickly as I wished, for I was detained for many days in S. Joseph's, Avila, of which I had the charge, and again in S. Joseph's in Medina del Campo, for I went thither ;<sup>5</sup> and there one day in prayer our Lord bade me make haste, for that soul was in great suffering. Though I had not made many preparations I set about the work, and entered Valladolid on the feast of S. Lawrence, 10th August 1568. As I looked at the house I fell into great distress, for I saw how foolish it would be for nuns to remain there, except at a very great cost ; though the place was pleasant to behold, because the garden was so charming, it could not fail to be unwholesome, for it was close to the river.

4. Though I was tired I had to hear mass in a monastery of our order, at the entrance of the city, and so far away that it made my sufferings twice as great. Nevertheless I said nothing to those who were with me, lest I should discourage them, for, though weak, I had some confidence that our Lord, who had told me what I have just related, would come to our help. I sent for workmen in the utmost secrecy, and began to have the ruined walls filled up with clay to secure our privacy,

<sup>4</sup> At this time the Saint having written the final version of her Life, sent it to Blessed Juan of Avila, by whose judgment, according to the advice of the inquisitor Soto, she was to abide. From Toledo she writes to her friend Doña Luisa de la Cerda on the feast of the Ascension, 27th May 1568, and from Avila in June: See below, ch. xiii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See ch. xiii. The Saint on her way to Medina from Avila, visited the site offered her by Don Rafael Mejia Velasquez for the monastery of the friars in Duruelo, possession of which was taken by S. John of the Cross and his companions in the autumn (*Reforma*, bk: ii. ch. xiv. 2, 3. See below, ch xiii. 2).

and to do whatever else was necessary. The ecclesiastic of whom I spoke before,<sup>6</sup> Julian of Avila, and one<sup>7</sup> of the two friars already mentioned, who wished to become a discalced, and was learning our way of living, were with us. Julian of Avila was occupied in obtaining the licence of the ordinary, who had given us hopes of it before I arrived.<sup>8</sup> We could not get the licence soon enough, for the Sunday came before it could reach us; however, they gave us leave to have mass said where we were to have our church, and accordingly it was said there.<sup>9</sup>

5. I was very far from thinking that what had been said to me of that soul was to be fulfilled then, for, though I was told it would be at the first mass, I thought the mass must be that during which the Most Holy Sacrament would be reserved. When the priest was coming towards us to the place where we were to communicate, with the Most Holy Sacrament in his hands, and myself drawing near to receive Him, I saw that nobleman, of whom I spoke before, close to the priest: his face was bright and shining, his hands were joined

<sup>6</sup> Ch. iii. 2.

<sup>7</sup> See ch. iii. 16. S. John of the Cross and Antonio de Heredia, the former of whom was then with the Saint. Fray Antonio had been left at Medina (*Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. xiv. 5).

<sup>8</sup> The Saint, from Duruelo, the morning after her visit to that place, had sent Julian of Avila to Olmedo, where the bishop was at the time, to treat about the foundation, and to obtain letters from him to the abbot of Valladolid, whose jurisdiction at that time was quasi-episcopal, but subject to the Bishop of Palencia (*Reforma*, ii. ch. xiv. 4. bk. v. ch. xiii. 2). Valladolid became an episcopal church only in 1595, the first bishop being Don Pedro Laptaza.

<sup>9</sup> The Saint reached Valladolid on Tuesday, 10th August, 1568. On the following Sunday, which was the feast of the Assumption, 15th August, the event described in § 5 took place. She was therefore slightly mistaken when saying that a Sunday intervened between her arrival and the feast.

together, and he thanked me for what I had done to enable him to depart out of purgatory and ascend to heaven. And indeed I was very far from thinking so, and in sadness enough, when I was first told that he was in the way of salvation : it seemed to me that he needed another kind of death, considering the life he led, for, though he had good qualities, his life was worldly. It is true he had told my companions that he always thought of death. It is very wonderful how pleasing to our Lord is any service whatever done to His Mother, and His mercy is great. Bless Him and praise Him for ever who thus rewards our mean services with everlasting life and blessedness, and makes them great when they are in themselves but little worth.

6. On the feast of the Assumption of our Lady, August 15, 1568, we took possession of the monastery. We remained there but a short time, for nearly all of us fell very ill. A lady there living observed it, who was Doña Maria de Mendoza,<sup>10</sup> wife of the knight commander Cobos,<sup>11</sup> mother of the marquis of Camarasa, a most perfect Christian, and most charitable, as her abundant alms bear ample witness. She had been very kind to me formerly when I had much to do with her, for she is the sister of the Bishop of Avila, who helped us much in the foundation of the first monastery, and in everything touching the order.<sup>12</sup> As she was so charitable, and saw

<sup>10</sup> The prioress appointed by the Saint was Isabel of the Cross. Doña Maria took all the nuns into her own house when she found their health failing, assigned them rooms for their devotion, and kept them till February 3rd in the following year, when they removed to the new monastery (which they still occupy), as the Saint tells us in the next paragraph (*Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. xv. 5).

<sup>11</sup> Don Francisco de los Cobos.

<sup>12</sup> The Saint, writing on 17th January 1570, to her brother Don Lorenzo, speaks of Doña Maria de Mendoza in these terms :—‘About

that we could not remain but under great difficulties, because it was a long way to send alms to us, and because the place was unhealthy, she told us to give up that house, that she would find us another ; and so she did, and the one she gave us was worth much more ; besides, she supplied all that was needful for us to this present time, and will do so so long as she shall live.

7. On the feast of S. Blasius we went to our new house in a grand procession, and with much devotion on the part of the people, which it still retains ; for our Lord works many graces in the house, and has brought souls into it whose sanctity shall be recorded at the proper time, to the praise of our Lord, who by means of them was pleased to magnify His works, and to show mercy to His creatures.<sup>13</sup> For there came one to us here in her early youth who showed us what the world is by despising it. I have thought it well to speak of her now, that they who love the world so much may be put to shame, and that from her example young girls to whom our Lord sends good inspirations and desires may learn how to act upon them.

8. There lives here a lady, Doña Maria de Acuña, sister of the Count of Buendía, who had married the president of Castille.<sup>14</sup> He died when she was still young, and left her with three children, one son and two daughters. She then began to live a life of such great  
a year ago I had a fever, but I am now all the better for it. I was busy with the foundation in Valladolid, and Doña Maria de Mendoza, widow of secretary Cobos, killed me with kindness. She has a great affection for me.'

<sup>13</sup> The rest of this, and the whole of the next, chapter, was omitted in the original edition.

<sup>14</sup> Doña Maria de Acuña married in 1547 Don Juan de Padilla Manrique, *adelantado mayor* (governor) of Castille, who died 28th October 1563. *Oeuvres*, iii. 155, n. 1.

sanctity, and to bring up her children so religiously, as to merit their vocation from our Lord. I have made a mistake—she had three daughters : one became forthwith a nun,<sup>15</sup> another refused marriage, and lived a most edifying life with her mother. In his early youth the son began to understand what the world is, and God to call him into religion in such a way that nobody could move him from his purpose. His mother looked on with such great joy that she must have been helping him by her prayers to our Lord, though she did not let it be known, on account of their kindred. In short, if our Lord will have a soul come to Him no creature in the world is strong enough to hinder it. So it was here. The youth, though kept back by much importunity for three years, entered the Society of Jesus. This lady said to her confessor,<sup>16</sup> from whom I have it, that her heart was never so full of joy in her life as on the day when her son made his profession.

9. O Lord, what a grand grace is that which Thou givest those to whom Thou givest such parents—parents who love their children so truly as to wish them to find their inherited dignities, entailed estates, and wealth in that blessedness which will never end ! What a sad thing it is the world is so wretched and blind that fathers think their honour lies in not suffering memorials of their having been owners of the dunghills of this world's goods to perish, and in the preservation of that which sooner or later must come to an end ! and everything of which there is to be an end, however lasting, is perishing, and deserves but scanty consideration. Parents, at the

<sup>15</sup> In the monastery of the Dominican nuns in Valladolid.

<sup>16</sup> F. Jerome Ripalda, rector of the house of the Jesuits in Valladolid.



cost of their own poor children, are resolved to maintain their vanity, and boldly withhold from God the souls He is drawing to Himself, and from those souls so great a blessing ; for, though it be not one that is to last for ever, it is one to which God calls them, it being a very great one to be delivered from the weariness and exactions of the world, and they are heaviest upon those whose possessions are the largest. Open their eyes, O my God ; teach them what that love is which they are bound to have for their children, that they may not do them so much harm, and that their children may not complain of them before God on the day of their final judgment, when they shall learn, whether they like it or not, what everything is worth.

10. Then, when, through the compassion of God, Don Antonio de Padilla, the noble child of the noble lady Maria de Acuña, quitted the world at the age of seventeen, more or less, the elder daughter, Doña Luisa, became heir to his estates ; the count of Buendía had no children, and Don Antonio was heir to his title as well as to the presidency of Castille. But, as that does not belong to my subject, I say nothing of all he had to suffer at the hands of his kindred before he carried out his purpose. He will understand who knows how much people of the world make of having an heir in their families.<sup>17</sup>

11. O Jesus Christ our Lord, King over all things, Son of the Everlasting Father, what hast Thou left in the world for us Thy children to inherit ? What were

<sup>17</sup> Don Antonio was received into the Society at Valladolid, 8th March 1572, and made his noviciate at Medina del Campo under Father Baltasar Alvarez. After having filled various offices he died at Valladolid, 29th November 1611. *Oeuvres*, iii. 156 n. 1.

Thy possessions? Only toil, and sorrow, and insult. Thou hadst nothing but the hard wood to rest on when undergoing the bitter anguish of death. Ah, my God, it is not fitting that we should run away from suffering if we would be Thy children indeed, and not renounce the inheritance. Thine armorial bearings are five wounds : then, my children, that must be also our device if we are to inherit His Kingdom. It is not ease, nor comfort, nor honours, nor riches that will obtain for us what He purchased by so much blood. O ye of noble birth, open your eyes for the love of God ; behold the true soldiers of Jesus Christ and the princes of His church. A S. Peter, a S. Paul never travelled by your road. Perhaps you think that a new road has been made for you : believe it not. See how our Lord began to show you the road by means of persons, young as they are, of whom I am now speaking. I have occasionally seen and spoken to Don Antonio : he wished his possessions had been greater that he might have had more to leave. Blessed children both of them, whose merits were so great in the eyes of God, at an age when the world usually rules the dwellers in it, that they were able to trample it under their feet. Blessed be He who wrought in them so great a work !

12. Then, when the elder sister succeeded to the honours of her house, she did with them as her brother had done ; for she had from her earliest years so given herself unto prayer (it is in prayer that our Lord gives us light to see the truth) that she esteemed them as lightly as her brother had done. O my God, what troubles and vexations, what litigation—yea, what risks of life and honour, many would have undergone for the succession to this inheritance ! The troubles of these two were not

light when they had agreed to give it up. So is the world—how clearly it shows us its follies if we were not blind! With her whole heart, then, in order to be delivered from this inheritance, did she renounce it in favour of her sister, for there was nobody else to accept it, who was about ten or eleven years of age. Her kindred at once, in order that the melancholy monuments of earthly dignities might not perish, arranged her marriage with one of her uncles, a brother of her father,<sup>18</sup> obtained a dispensation from the sovereign Pontiff, and betrothed her.

13. It was not our Lord's pleasure that a daughter of such a mother, a sister of such a brother and sisters, should be any more deceived than they were, and accordingly what I am now going to tell came to pass. The child began to wear the dress and ornaments which became her rank, and which might have influenced her at so tender an age, but she had hardly been betrothed two months when our Lord Himself began to give her light, though she at the time did not clearly see it. Having spent the day, to her own great joy, with her bridegroom, whom she loved with an affection beyond her years, she fell into a profound sorrow, thinking how the day was ended, and that every other day must be ended in the same way. Oh, how grand is God! that very joy which she received from the joy she had in perishable things became hateful to her. Then arose a sadness so great as to be more than she could hide from her bridegroom. She did not know whence it came, nor could she account for it, even when he asked her the cause of it.

<sup>18</sup> Don Juan de Padilla had three brothers, don Gomez Manrique, commendatory of the Order of Calatrava, don Pedro Manrique de Padilla, canon of Toledo and afterwards Jesuit, and don Martin de Padilla, the *fiancé* of Casilda. *Oeuvres*, iii. 157. n. i.

14. At this time the bridegroom had a journey to make which would take him far away from the place, and she felt it deeply, because she loved him so much. But our Lord revealed to her then the source of her suffering—that her soul was yearning after that which never ends, and she began to see that her brother and sisters had taken the safest course, and had left her behind amid the dangers of the world. The thought of this, on the one hand, and, on the other, of there being no help for it (for she did not know till later, when she made inquiries, that notwithstanding her betrothal she might yet become a nun), kept her sad, and above all, her love for him who was to be her husband hindered her from coming to any resolution, and thus her days were passed in much heaviness. But, as our Lord meant to have her for Himself, He took away from her that love, and the desire of giving up all things grew within her. At this time her only wish was her own salvation, and the finding out the best way for that end; for she thought if she gave herself more to the things of the world she might forget to strive after that which is eternal. God filled her with wisdom at this tender age to seek the means of gaining that which never ends.

15. O happy soul, to come forth so early out of the darkness in which many who are old are lost! As soon as she saw her affections were free she made up her mind to give them wholly unto God—for until then she had kept her own secret—and began to speak to her sister of her state. The sister, looking on it as a childish fancy, dissuaded her from her purpose, and among other things told her that she could be saved in the state of marriage. She replied, ‘Why, then, did you renounce that state for

yourself?’ Thus it went on for some days, and her good desires were growing always; her mother, however, did not dare to speak, but perhaps after all it was she who, by her holy prayers, was carrying on the warfare.

## CHAPTER XI

CONTINUES THE RELATION OF THE MEANS TAKEN BY DOÑA  
CASILDA DE PADILLA TO CARRY OUT HER HOLY  
DESIGN OF ENTERING RELIGION

1. Stephany of the Apostles.—2. Doña Casilda enters into herself.—
3. Attempts to become a nun.—4. Her device to gain an entrance into the monastery.—5. Casilda’s relatives.—6. She is removed by force from the monastery.—7. The family wish her to enter another order.—8. Doña Casilda a nun.

1. It came to pass at this time that we had to give the habit to a lay sister—sister Stephany of the Apostles<sup>1</sup>—in the monastery of the Conception. I may speak hereafter of her vocation, for, though of a different condition of life—she was but a peasant—yet, because of the great

<sup>1</sup> Stephany of the Apostles, daughter of Fernando Gallo and Maria Sanchez of Pedroza de Campos, was born on the morrow of the Nativity, 26th December 1549. From her very earliest years, and before the age of reason in children, she gave herself to penance and continual prayer. As she grew in years she grew also in natural beauty and grace, and was, with the more than consent of her father and mother, sought in marriage. To escape from the importunities with which she was pursued, she took refuge in Medina de Rioseco, in Leon, in the house of her sister. She then went to live with Doña Maria de Vesgas, who, discerning her sanctity, offered to provide her dower if she entered religion. The young man who sought her in marriage now came to trouble her again, whereupon she took refuge in a monastery of S. Clare. From the monastery she was withdrawn by Doña Maria, who quarrelled with the nuns, and then her father sent for her to Pedroza de Campos.



graces which God wrought in her, she deserves, for the honour of His Majesty, that I should make some record of her. When she was to take the habit, Doña Casilda—for that was the name of this beloved of our Lord—came to the ceremony with her grandmother, the mother of her bridegroom.<sup>2</sup> She conceived a very great liking for the monastery, and thought that our Lord was better served by the nuns, because they were few in number and poor. Still she had not at this time made up her mind to give up her bridegroom, and he it was, as I said before, who held her back the most.

2. She remembered that she was accustomed, before she was betrothed, to spend a certain time in prayer, for her mother, in her goodness and saintliness, had thus brought her up with her brother and sisters. From the time they were seven years old she used to take them with her into her oratory at certain hours, and teach them how to meditate on the Passion of our Lord. She made them go often to confession, and accordingly she saw her good desires to bring them up for God so amply rewarded. She has told me herself that she used to offer up her children to God, and implore Him to take them out of the world, for she was no longer deluded as to the scanty esteem in which it should be held. I think at times how

There she heard our Lord say to her, ‘Go to Valladolid,’ and she went, and became there a penitent of F. Jerome Ripalda, S.J. Under his direction—staying at the time in the house of Doña María de Acuña—she presented herself at the monastery founded by S. Teresa, which she entered on the feast of S. Mark, 1572, in the twenty-third year of her age. She received the habit on the feast of the Visitation, 2nd July of that year, was professed as a lay sister, 6th August 1573, and died in the odour of sanctity, 11th June 1617, in the sixty-eighth year of her age (*Reforma*, bk. xiv. ch. xxxi.—xxxiv).

<sup>2</sup> Doña Luisa de Padilla, widow of Don Antonio Manrique, who died in 1560. *Oeuvres*, iii. 162, n. 2.

they will thank their mother when they see themselves in the fruition of everlasting bliss, and that it was she who helped them ; and I think too, of her accidental joy in seeing them, and how different it will be with those fathers and mothers who have not brought up their children as children of God—and they are more His than theirs—when they all meet together, both the one and the other, in hell, uttering curses, hopelessly lost.

3. To return to my story. When Doña Casilda saw that even saying the rosary was no longer a pleasure to her she feared that she might become even worse and worse, and thought she saw clearly that by coming to this house she could make her salvation certain. She therefore made up her mind altogether, and one morning she and her sister came here with their mother, and, as it happened, all entered the monastery, but without any suspicion that she was going to do what she did. When she found herself inside no one would thrust her out. She cried so earnestly that she might be left, and she used such words as astonished everybody. Her mother, though in her heart glad, was afraid of her kindred, and would not have her remain, lest it should be said that she was doing this by her persuasion ; the prioress<sup>3</sup> also was of the same mind, for she looked on her as a child, and thought that there ought to be a longer trial of her vocation. This was in the morning ; they had to remain there till the evening, and to send for her confessor and for the father master Fray Domingo, a Dominican,<sup>4</sup> who was mine, of whom I spoke in the beginning, but

<sup>3</sup> Maria-Bautista. This happened in 1573 when S. Teresa was at Salamanca.

<sup>4</sup> Fray Dominic Bañez, at that time regent of the college of San Gregorio at Valladolid.

I was not there at the time myself. That father saw at once that this was the work of the Spirit of God, and gave her great help, while having much to bear with at the hand of her kindred. So indeed ought all men to do who pretend to serve God, when they see a soul called by Him, nor must they be led by the prudence of men. He promised his help to her for her coming back another day. She went away this time, but after earnest importunities, lest they should blame her mother. Her good desires continued even to grow stronger.

4. Her mother began to speak privately to her kindred, and the secret was kept from coming to the knowledge of the bridegroom. They spoke of it all as childishness, and said she must wait till she became of age, for she was not yet twelve years old. She replied to this by saying, as they thought her old enough to be married and left in the world, how came it that they did not find her old enough to give herself to God? She spoke in such a way as made it plain it was not she herself who was speaking. The matter could not be kept so secret as to escape the knowledge of the bridegroom. When she found that he was aware of it she did not think it well to wait for him, and on the feast of the Conception, when in the house of her grandmother, who was also her mother-in-law, but who knew nothing of the matter, she asked her to let her go for a walk with her governess. The grandmother, to please her gave her consent, and she went out in a carriage with her servants. To one of them she gave some money, and asked him to wait for her at the gate of this monastery with a bundle of faggots, and had herself driven about in such a way that they brought her by the house. When she had come in front of the gate she told her servants to ask at the wicket for a goblet of water,

without saying for whom, and descended quickly from the carriage ; they said the water would be brought to her, but she would not have it so. The faggots were already there, and she bade her people tell them in the monastery to come to the door for them. She stood close by the faggots, and when the door opened hurried within, throwing her arms around our Lady, weeping, and praying the prioress not to send her away.

5. The servants raised a loud cry, and knocked violently at the door. She went to the grating to speak to them, told them that nothing should ever make her come out, and they must go and tell her mother. The women who were in attendance upon her made pitiful lamentations, but nothing moved her. Her grandmother, when she was told of it, would go at once to the monastery. However, neither she herself, nor an uncle,<sup>5</sup> nor the bridegroom himself, who, when he came, found means to converse much with her at the grating, did anything else but increase her distress when they were with her, and leave her more determined than before. The bridegroom said to her, after many piteous complainings, that she could serve God more by giving alms ; whereupon she bade him, by way of reply, give alms himself. In answer to everything else from him she replied that she was under greater obligations to work out her own salvation, that she knew herself to be weak, and could not save herself amid the dangers of the world ; that he had no reason to complain of her, for she had left him only for God, and that she did him no wrong thereby. When she saw that he was not satisfied she arose and left him. He made no impression whatever upon her ; she was on

<sup>5</sup> Probably the Count de Buendía, brother of Casilda's mother. *Oeuvres*, iii. 166 n. 3.

the whole disgusted with him ; for the temptations and annoyances which Satan stirs up become rather a help to that soul to whom God sends the light of the truth. It is His Majesty Himself who is fighting on its behalf. It was so visibly now, for it did not seem as if Casilda herself were the speaker.

6. When the bridegroom and her kindred saw how little influence they had to bring her out with her own consent they took means to drag her out by force, and so they procured an order from the king, in virtue of which they could take her out and restore her to her liberty. During her stay in the monastery, which was from the feast of the Conception to that of the Innocents, when they took her away, she never wore the habit, but she observed all the rules of the house as if she had been clothed, and that with the greatest joy. On that day they carried her into the house of a nobleman, for the officers of justice came for her. She wept grievously as they were taking her away, asking them why they tormented her, and saying that they would gain nothing by what they were doing. Religious as well as others now talked earnestly to her : some thought her conduct childish, and others wished her to retain her rank in the world. I should become very tedious if I were to recount all the discussions that took place, and how she extricated herself out of them all. They were amazed at the things she said. When they saw that they could not influence her they took her to her mother's house, there to be kept for a time. Her mother was weary of so much trouble, and gave her no help whatever : on the contrary, she seemed to be against her. It may be that her mother was only trying her ; at least, she told me so afterwards, and she is so saintly that whatever she says



is to be believed. However, the child did not so understand her. Her confessor also was extremely opposed to her, so that she had no help but in God, and in a young woman in her mother's service who consoled her.<sup>6</sup>

7. Thus she lived in great weariness and distress till she was twelve years old: then she found it was proposed, now that they could not hinder her profession, to make her enter the monastery in which her sister was, because it was not so severe. She, when she saw this, determined to find some means or other for carrying out her resolution, and accordingly one day, going with her mother to mass, while the latter went into the confessional in the church, she asked her governess to go and request one of the fathers to say mass for her. When she saw her gone, she put her clogs in her sleeves, and taking up her dress, ran in all haste towards this monastery, which was a good way off. The governess, not finding her in the church, rushed after her, and as she was drawing near to her asked a man to stop her. The man said afterwards that he found himself unable to stir, and so let her go. Casilda, having entered by the outer door of the monastery, shut it, and began to call out; when the governess arrived she was already within the monastery, and the nuns gave her the habit at once. Thus the good beginning, the work of our Lord in her, was brought to a good ending.

8. His Majesty began to reward her immediately with spiritual graces, and she to serve Him with the

<sup>6</sup> Probably doña Ana de Pedruja who afterwards became a Carmelite at Malagon under the name of Anne of S. Augustine, and died in the odour of sanctity at Villanueva, 11th December 1624, and was declared Venerable in 1776. *Oeuvres*, iii. 168, n. 1.

greatest joy, in the deepest humility, and detachment from all things. May He be blessed for ever who thus made her, who had been once so fond of most rich and costly garments, take pleasure in the poor robe of serge ! It could not, however, hide her beauty, for our Lord had given to her natural as well as spiritual graces ; in her manners and her understanding she was so winning that she moved everybody to give God thanks for them. May His Majesty grant that there be many who thus answer to His call !<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Doña Casilda made her profession as Casilda of the Conception, 13th January 1577, at the age of fourteen, in virtue of a dispensation of the pope, Gregory XIII. With all her wealth, she went poor to the monastery, for her family gave her no dowry, but paid the monastery for her food and lodging year by year. In the distribution of the unsettled property of the family it seems that the brother had so large a share—which went to the house of the Jesuits in Valladolid, where he was then living—that the Carmelites received nothing. There was some litigation, therefore, between the Jesuits and the Carmelites, but without any gain to the latter (see letter of S. Teresa of 17th September 1581). Doña Casilda left the monastery in September, 1581, at the instigation of a confessor, and became a nun in the Franciscan house in Burgos, of which she was abbess in 1610, and where she died—sorry, however, that she had ever left the house of Carmel. In the roll of the professions sent from Valladolid to the chapter held in Alcalá, 1581, is the following entry :—‘ Sister Casilda of the Conception, has been a professed nun these four years in this house ; she was born in Valladolid. Her name was Casilda Juliana Padilla, and she made her profession on the feast of the Baptism of Christ, in the year ’77’ (*Fuente*, vol. vi, p. 74).

## CHAPTER XII

TREATS OF THE LIFE OF A NUN CALLED BEATRIZ OF THE INCARNATION, WHOM OUR LORD BROUGHT TO THE SAME CONVENT HER LIFE HAVING BEEN SO PERFECT AND HER DEATH SUCH THAT IT IS ONLY RIGHT TO REMEMBER HER<sup>1</sup>

1. Beatriz of the Incarnation.—2. Her obedience and patience.—
3. Offers herself to suffer for great criminals.—4. Her sufferings.—
5. Her sweetness in suffering.—6. Her mortified life.—7. Her humility.—8. Her contentment.—9. Her last illness.—10. Death.—11. Burial.

I. WE had a nun in this monastery whose name was Beatriz Oñez,<sup>2</sup> and who was in some way related to Doña Casilda. She came some years before her, and her spirit filled all with amazement, seeing what great things our Lord was working in her. The nuns and the prioress declare that they never saw in her, during her whole life here, anything whatever that might be regarded as an imperfection; they never saw her change countenance, but always cheerful and modest—a certain sign of the inward gladness of her heart. There was no gloom in her silence, for, though a very great observer of silence, she was so in such a way that nobody could call it singular. She was never heard to utter a word with which fault could be found,<sup>3</sup> nor known to have preferred her own opinion. She never made an excuse for herself, though the prioress, in order to try her, would find fault with her for things she had not done, as is the

<sup>1</sup> The title of this chapter is apparently in another hand.

<sup>2</sup> Doña Beatriz Oñez was a native of Arroyo, near Santa Gadea. Her parents were connected with the family of the *Adelantado* of Castille.

<sup>3</sup> Judith, viii. 28: 'Et non est in sermonibus tuis ulla reprehensio.'

custom in these houses by way of mortification. She never complained of anything, never of any of her sisters ; never by word or look did she hurt the feelings of anybody in all the duties she had to do, nor did she ever give anybody reason to think that there was any imperfection in her, nor was it possible to accuse her in chapter of any shortcomings, notwithstanding the very trifling nature of the faults which the correctors of faults there say they have observed. Her outward and inward tranquillity in all circumstances was marvellous : it had its source in her ever thinking of eternity, and of the end for which God has made us. The praise of God was ever in her mouth,<sup>1</sup> and she was always making thanksgivings ; in a word, she was always in prayer.

2. As to obedience she never failed in that, but did whatever she was commanded to do readily, perfectly, and with joy. Her love of her neighbour was very great, for she used to say that she would resign herself to be cut into a thousand pieces for any one, on the condition that he did not lose his soul, and came to the fruition of her brother Jesus Christ : for so she was wont to speak of our Lord. Her sufferings—they were very grievous—caused by fearful sickness, of which I shall speak later on, and her most distressing pains, she bore most willingly and joyously, as if they were great consolations and delights. Our Lord must have filled her soul with joy, for in no other way was it possible, so great was the joy with which she bore them.

3. It happened that certain persons, for great offences, were to be burnt in the city of Valladolid. She must have known that they were about to die not so well prepared as they should have been, which caused her the

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xxxiii. 2 : 'Semper laus Ejus in ore meo.'

most painful distress ; so she went in great trouble to our Lord, and begged of Him most earnestly the salvation of those souls, and offered in return to suffer all her life long every pain and torment she could bear, either in exchange for that which they had deserved or for the securing their salvation, for I do not remember distinctly the words she used. That very night her first attack of fever came on, and she was always afterwards in pain till she died. The criminals made a good death, which seems to show that God heard her prayer.

4. Then an abscess formed, which caused the most frightful suffering, and required for its endurance all the courage with which our Lord had filled her soul. It was an inward abscess, and the medicines which they gave her did her no good, till, in the good pleasure of our Lord, it opened of itself and discharged the matter gathered within it ; this brought her some relief from pain. In her eagerness to suffer she was not satisfied with a little, and accordingly, on the feast of the Holy Cross, while hearing a sermon, this desire to suffer so grew upon her that, the sermon over, she threw herself, weeping abundantly, on her bed ; and on being asked what so distressed her, begged her sisters to pray to God to send her much suffering, and she would then be happy.

5. To the prioress she spoke of all her interior life, and that was a consolation to her. Throughout her whole illness she never gave any one the least trouble in the world, nor did she at any time do anything but according to the will of the infirmarian, even to the drinking a drop of water. It is very common for souls given to prayer to wish for sufferings when they have none, but it is not common for many, when they have



them, to bear them and be glad. She was so worn by her illness and by the excessive pain that she did not last long ; and there was also an abscess in the throat, so that she could not swallow. Some of the sisters were standing around her when she said to the prioress, who, as it was her duty, was comforting her and encouraging her to bear so much suffering, that she had no pain, and that she would not change places with any of her sisters who were strongest in health. She kept her eyes so fixed on our Lord, for whom she was suffering, that she kept her secret to herself as much as she could, in order that those who were about her might not see how much she had to bear ; and so, unless when the pain was sharp, she hardly complained at all. She thought there was nobody in the world so worthless as herself, and accordingly, so far as we could see, her humility was great.

6. She had a very great pleasure in speaking of the goodness of other people ; in mortifying herself she was very severe ; in withdrawing from everything that could give her any satisfaction she used so much art that nobody could have observed it who did not watch her with great attention. She seemed as if she neither lived with nor conversed with creatures, so lightly did she regard them ; for, whatever happened, she bore it all with a calmness that nobody ever saw disturbed. So much so, that one of the sisters told her she resembled certain persons whom the world thinks honourable, who, if they were dying of hunger, would rather do so than that anybody should know it, for the sisters could not believe that she did not feel certain things, though she never showed any signs of doing so.

7. Whatever work she had to do or duties to discharge, all was done for one end, so that she lost the

merit of none ; and so she used to say to the sisters, ‘The most trifling thing we do, if we do it for the love of God, is beyond all price ; we ought not to turn our eyes in any direction but for that, and to please Him.’ As she never meddled with anything that was not part of her work, so she saw nothing amiss in anybody, but only in herself. It distressed her so much if anybody spoke well of her that she was careful never to praise anybody who was present, to avoid giving them pain.

8. She never sought her own ease, either by going into the garden or in any created thing, for it would have been a rudeness, as she used to say, to seek relief from the pains which our Lord sent her ; so she never asked for anything, but was always satisfied with whatever was given her. She used to say, also, that it would have been a cross rather to her to take comfort in anything but God. The fact is, I sought for information about her from those in the house, and there was not one who had ever observed anything in her that did not savour of a soul of high perfection.

9. When the time was come when our Lord was pleased to take her out of this life her sufferings grew, and she laboured under so many diseases at once that the mere sight of her contentment under them drew the nuns often to visit her, because it made them praise our Lord. In particular the chaplain, who was the confessor of the monastery and a very great servant of God, had a great wish to be present at her death ; he, having been her confessor, looked upon her as a saint. God was pleased to grant him his desire, for, as she was in the full possession of her understanding, having already received the last anointing, they sent for him to absolve her and help her to die, if his services should be needed that

night. A little before nine o'clock, when all the sisters were with her, and he himself also, all her sufferings ceased, about a quarter of an hour before she died.

10. She then in great peace lifted up her eyes ; there was a joyous expression in her face, which seemed to shine, while she herself was as if gazing at something that filled her with gladness, for she smiled twice. All the sisters around her and the priest himself, so great was the spiritual joy and delight they then felt, could only say that they thought themselves in heaven. In that joy I am speaking of, with her eyes directed to heaven, she drew her last breath, looking like an angel ; for we may believe, because of our faith and her life, that God took her into His rest in recompense of her earnest desires to suffer for His sake.<sup>5</sup>

11. The chaplain declares, and he has said so to many, that at the moment her body was laid in the tomb he perceived a most powerful and most sweet smell arising from it. The sacristan sister also declares that not one of the candles that were burning during the funeral rites and the burial suffered the least diminution of the wax. All this we may believe of the mercy of God. I spoke of it to a confessor of hers, of the Society of Jesus, to whom she had for many years gone to confession, and who had the care of her soul, and he told me that there was nothing singular in it, and that it did not surprise him, for he knew that our Lord conversed much with her. May it please His Majesty, my children, to enable

<sup>5</sup> Beatriz of the Incarnation—that was her name in religion—made her profession in Valladolid, 17th September 1570, and died, 5th May 1574. The conventual register erroneously says 1573. Saint Teresa had occasion to complain of the want of exactitude of a relation of this remarkable life, and therefore undertook to write it herself. See Letter of 2nd November 1576.

us to learn how to profit by a companionship good as hers was, and that of many others whom our Lord gives us in these houses ! Perhaps I may say something about them, in order that they who are a little lukewarm may do violence to themselves and imitate them, and that all of us may praise our Lord, who thus makes His greatness shine forth in a few poor weak women.

## CHAPTER XIII

TREATS OF THE FOUNDATION AND THE FOUNDER OF THE FIRST HOUSE  
OF FRIARS UNDER THE PRIMITIVE RULE, A.D. 1568

1. The Friars of the Order.—2. Don Rafael Mejia Velasquez.—3. The Saint's journey to Duruelo.—4. Fray Antonio.—5. S. John of the Cross.—6. Consent of the Provincial.—7. The Saint's thanksgiving.

1. I HAD already, before setting out for this foundation in Valladolid, arranged with the father Fray Antonio of Jesus, then prior of S. Anne, in Medina, of the order of Carmel, and with Fray John of the Cross, as I said before,<sup>1</sup> that they were to be the first to enter, if we could found a monastery for the observance of the primitive rule of the barefooted friars. But, as I had not the means of supplying a house for the purpose, I constantly recommended the matter to our Lord, for, as I said before, I was satisfied with these fathers. It was now a year since I had spoken to father Antonio, during which our Lord had proved him by many trials, which he had undergone with great perfection. There was no need to try father John of the Cross, for, though he was

<sup>1</sup> See ch. iii. 15, 16.

living among the fathers of the mitigated rule, he always led a perfect and religious life.

2. Our Lord, who had given me that which was essential, namely, friars to begin the work, was pleased to give everything else. A nobleman of Avila, Don Rafael,<sup>2</sup> to whom I had never spoken, found out—I do not remember how—that I wished to have a monastery of barefooted friars, and came to me to offer as a gift a house that he had, in a small hamlet thinly peopled. I think it had less than twenty inhabitants—I do not now remember; and the house was kept for the use of his bailiff, who received his corn-rents there. I knew what sort of a place it must be, but I gave praise to our Lord, and to him thanks. He told me it was on the road to Medina del Campo, whither I was going on my way to the foundation of Valladolid; it was right on my road, and I might see it. I told him I should do so, and I did so; for I left Avila in June, with one of the nuns for my companion,<sup>3</sup> and the father Julian of Avila, chaplain of S. Joseph's, Avila, the priest whom I have spoken of as the one who helped me in my travels.<sup>4</sup>

3. We set out early in the morning, but as we did not know the road we missed it, and the place being but little known we could not hear much about it. We spent the whole day in great toil, for the sun was very strong: when we thought we were near the place we had to go as far again. I shall always remember that wearisome and winding road. We reached the house a little before nightfall, and the state it was in when we

<sup>2</sup> Don Rafael Mejia Velasquez. The offer was made in June, 1568, in Avila, whither the Saint had returned after founding the monastery of Malagon (*Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. xiv. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Antonia of the Holy Ghost (*Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. xiv).

<sup>4</sup> See ch. iii. 2



entered was such that we could not venture to pass the night there, because of the exceeding absence of cleanliness, and of the crowd of harvest men. It had a fair porch, two rooms, one beyond the other, and a garret, with a small kitchen. This was all the building that was to be our monastery. I thought that the porch might be made into a church, the garret into a choir, which would do well, and the friars could sleep in the room. The nun who was with me, though much better than I am and very much given to penance, could not bear that I should think of having a monastery there, and said to me, 'Certainly, mother, there is nobody, however great his spirituality, who can bear this; do not speak of it.'

4. The father who was travelling with me, though of the same mind with my companion the nun, did not oppose me when I told him of my purpose. We went and spent the night in the church, but, on account of the great fatigue we had undergone, we would not pass it watching. When we reached Medina I spoke at once to the father Fray Antonio, and told him what had happened, and that if he had the courage to remain there for a time he might be certain that God would soon help him, and that to begin was everything. I think I saw then what our Lord has done, and as clearly, so to speak, as I see it now, and even much more than I see at present; for at this moment when I am writing this, by the goodness of God, ten monasteries<sup>5</sup> of the barefooted friars have been built. I told him, too, he might depend on it that neither the late nor the present pro-

<sup>5</sup> These were: Duruelo, Mancera, Pastrana, Alcalá de Henares, Altomira, La Roda, Granada, Peñuela, Seville and Almodovar del Campo.

vincial (for, as I said in the beginning, their consent must be had<sup>6</sup>) would ever give us leave if we were seen living in a large house ; besides, there was no help for it, and if they were settled in that little hamlet and house neither the one nor the other would take any thought about them. God had given him a courage greater than mine, and so he answered that he would live not only there but even in a pigstye.

5. Fray John of the Cross was of the same mind. Now, it remained for us to obtain the consent of the two fathers I have just spoken of,<sup>7</sup> for it was on that condition our father-general had given us permission. I trusted in our Lord we should obtain it, and therefore told the father Fray Antonio to do everything he could in making some provision for the house, and set out myself with Fray John of the Cross for the foundation of Valladolid, already described. And as we tarried there some days without enclosure, in the midst of workmen repairing the house, Fray John of the Cross had the means of learning our way of life, so that he might clearly understand everything, both the mortifications we practise and the sisterly affection with which we treat one another, and how we all come to recreation together, which is so modestly carried on that it helps us to discover the shortcomings of the sisters, and is some slight comfort to ourselves, enabling us to endure the severity of the rule. He was so good that I, at least, might have learned much more from him than he from me. But I did not do so. I only showed him the way in which the sisters live.

6. It pleased God that the provincial of our order,

<sup>6</sup> See ch. ii. 5.

<sup>7</sup> The two provincials. See below, § 6.

Fray Alonso Gonçalez,<sup>8</sup> whose consent I was obliged to obtain, should be there at the time. He was an old man, very kind, and without guile. I said so much to him, and of the account he would have to give to God if he hindered so good a work, when I asked him his consent, that he was greatly softened, His Majesty also disposing him thereto ; for He would have the monastery founded.// Doña Maria de Mendoza arrived, and her brother, the bishop of Avila, who has always helped and defended us, and they obtained his consent at last, with that of the late provincial, Fray Angel de Salazar,<sup>9</sup> from whom I feared every difficulty. But some great and pressing matter occurred at the time, for which the help of that lady, Doña Maria de Mendoza, was needed, and that I believe helped us much. But, putting this aside, even if that necessity had not arisen our Lord would have put it into his heart to consent, as He did into that

<sup>8</sup> The general, by letters dated Barcelona, 14th August 1567, authorised the provincial Fray Alonso Gonçalez and the ex-provincial Fray Angel de Salazar, then prior of Avila, jointly to accept two houses of friars, in which the primitive rule was to be observed. Fray Alonso Gonçalez, probably a native of Salamanca, appears for the first time as simple religious at Avila in a document of 1528. Later on he became prior of that convent (documents of 1531, 1532, 1550, and 1561), and may have filled the same post elsewhere. At the provincial chapter presided over by Rubeo (12th April 1567) he was elected provincial with twelve out of twenty votes. At that time he was as yet only *Presentado*, a title given to a licentiate who had been presented to the university for the degree of Master by the authorities of the Order as distinguished from those who took the degree at the expense of their friends, but Rubeo, by letters patent of 1st May 1567 gave him leave to apply for the doctor's cap. His term of office expired in April 1570 but was prolonged until the provincial chapter, held 23rd September 1570, at which Salazar was elected, Gonçalez acting as definitor. After that date we lose sight of him. On Angel de Salazar see *Life*, ch. xxxiv. 1. n. 2.

<sup>9</sup> The province being small and almost dying out he viewed with little favour the foundation of new convents and of such austerity !

of the father-general, who was very far from such a thought.

7. O my God ! what things I have seen in these foundations that seemed impossible, and how easily His Majesty overcame the difficulties ! What confusion of face is mine, seeing what I have seen, that I am not better than I am ! for now, when I consider it as I am writing, I find myself wondering, and desiring that our Lord would make all people understand that what we creatures did in these foundations is as nothing. Our Lord directed all from beginnings so mean that only His Majesty could have raised them to the state they are in now. May He be blessed for ever. Amen.

## CHAPTER XIV

CONTINUATION OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE FIRST HOUSE OF DISCALCED CARMELITE FRIARS. SOME ACCOUNT OF THEIR LIFE AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF THOSE HAMLETS TO THE HONOUR AND GLORY OF GOD

1. S. John of the Cross goes to Duruelo.—2. Fray Antonio resigns the office of prior.—3. Poverty.—4. The houses of Carmel to be poor.—5. The new Carmelite house of friars.—6. Its poverty.—7. The fathers go about preaching.—8. A better house is offered to the friars.—9. The miraculous well in Mancera.—10. State of the house in Duruelo.—11. The Saint thought the friars too severe with themselves.

I. WHEN I had obtained the consent of the two provincials I thought I wanted nothing more. We arranged that the father Fray John of the Cross should go to the house and furnish it, so that somehow or

other it might be gone into. I made all the haste I could to begin, because I was very much afraid that some hindrance might arise. And so it was done.<sup>1</sup>

2. The father Fray Antonio had already provided some necessary things, we helping him as much as we could, but it was not much. He came here to Valladolid to speak to me in great joy, and told me what he had got together. It was little enough: he had provided only hour-glasses, of which he had five, and that amused me much. He said he was not going without provision for keeping regular hours. I believe he had not even wherewithal to sleep on. There was a little delay in getting the house into order, because there was no money, though they had wished to do much. When all was done, the father Fray Antonio gladly resigned the priorate,<sup>2</sup> and promised to observe the primitive rule, for, though they asked him to try it first, he would not. He went to the little house with the greatest joy in the world, Fray John being there already.

3. The father Fray Antonio has told me that when he came in sight of the little hamlet he felt an exceedingly great inward joy; that he thought he had now done for

<sup>1</sup> S. John of the Cross left Valladolid 30th September, having received the new habit of the Reform from S. Teresa herself, in all probability at Medina del Campo in July or August. (See a learned article on this question by Fr. Gerardo de S. Juan de la Cruz in *El Monte Carmelo*, Burgos, 1909, 858 sqq.) His superiors gave him leave to renounce the mitigated, and to practise the severities of the primitive, rule. He arrived at Duruelo at the end of September, 1568, and, having spent the night in prayer, placed the habit on the altar and blessed it, and when he had said mass put it on, the first friar of the Reform of S. Teresa. (*Life of S. John of the Cross*, by Jerome of S. Joseph.)

<sup>2</sup> Fray Antonio was prior of S. Anne, in Medina del Campo, a house of the mitigated observance. He arrived at Duruelo on 27th November, being then fifty-eight years old.



ever with the world, abandoning all things, and throwing himself into that desert. Neither of them thought the house in any way bad : so far from it, they looked on themselves as settled in great comfort. O my God, how little these buildings and outward satisfactions furnish for the inner man ! I beg of you, for the love of Him, my sisters and fathers, never to be otherwise than most moderate in the matter of large and sumptuous buildings : let us remember our true founders, those holy fathers from whom we are sprung, for we know it was by the way of poverty and humility that they attained to the vision of God.

4. Truly I have seen greater spirituality and also greater inward joy where bodily conveniences seemed to be wanting than I have seen later on where the house was large and the comforts many. If the house be large, what good does that bring to us ?<sup>3</sup> We are to live only in one cell, and if that be very spacious and well made what is it to us ? Nothing, for it is not our business to be looking at the walls. If we consider this is not the house which is to last for ever, but only for so short a time as life is, however long that may be, everything will be sweet to us when we see that the less we possess on earth the more we shall have in eternity, where the dwellings answer to that love wherewith we have imitated the life of our good Jesus. If we say, as we do, that these are the beginnings of a restoration of the rule of the Virgin Mother, our Lady and Protectress, let us not do so much wrong to her, or to our holy fathers who have gone before us, as to fail to make our lives consistent with them ; and if, by reason of our weakness, we cannot do so in all things, we should be very cautious about

<sup>3</sup> See *Way of Perfection*, ch. ii, 7 ; and *Visit. of Nunneries*, 13.

those things which neither injure nor sustain life ; for, after all, it is only a little pleasant labour, as those two fathers found it, and if we make up our minds to bear it all the difficulty is past, for the whole pain is but a little in the beginning.

5. On the first or second Sunday in Advent of the year 1568—I do not remember which of the two Sundays it was<sup>4</sup>—the first mass was said in that little porch of Bethlehem ; I do not think it was any better. In the following Lent I passed by on my way to Toledo for the foundation there. I arrived one morning ; Fray Antonio of Jesus was sweeping the door of the Church with a joyful countenance, which he ever preserves. I said to him, ‘What is this, father?—what has become of your dignity?’ He replied in these words, showing the great joy he was in : ‘I execrate the time wherein I had any.’ As I went into the church I was amazed to see the spirit which our Lord had inspired there ; and I was not the only one, for two merchants, friends of mine, who had come with me from Medina, did nothing but cry, there were so many crosses, so many skulls !

6. <sup>15</sup> I can never forget one little cross of wood by the

<sup>4</sup> It was Sunday, 28th November 1568, and therefore the first Sunday in Advent. S. John of the Cross had been saying mass for two months there, but as he was alone it could not be said of the house that it was a monastery. Fray Antonio brought with him a laybrother, so that there were now three religious—tres faciunt collegium—and the monastery could be formed. After the mass, in conformity with the custom of S. Teresa, the friars changed their names : Fray Antonio de Heredia became Fray Antonio of Jesus ; and Fray John of S. Mathias, Fray John of the Cross ; and Fray Joseph, the laybrother, became Fray Joseph of Christ. Soon after the provincial arrived and made Fray Antonio prior, Fray John of the Cross sub-prior, and Fray Joseph porter and sacristan (*Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. xx. 2).

holy water, to which a picture of Christ on paper was fastened ; it seemed to cause more devotion than if it had been made of some material most admirably fashioned. // The choir was the garret, which was lofty in the centre, so that they could say the office in it, but they had to stoop very low to enter it and hear mass. In the two corners of it next the church they had two little hermitages filled with hay, for the place was very cold, in which they must either lie down or sit ; the roof almost touched their heads. There were two little openings into the church, and two stones for pillows ; there were also crosses and skulls. // I understood that when matins were over they did not go back to their cells till Prime, but remained here in prayer, in which they were so absorbed that they went and said Prime when the time came, having their habits covered with snow, but they did not know it. // They said the office with another father of the mitigated rule, who came to stay with them, though he did not change his habit, because he was very infirm, and with another young friar,<sup>5</sup> not in orders, who also was staying with them.

§ 7. They used to go out to preach in many places around where the people needed instruction, and that also made me glad that the house was established there, for I was told that there was no monastery near, nor the means of supporting one, which was a great pity. They gained so good a name in so short a time as to give me the very greatest pleasure when I heard of it. They went, as I am saying, a league and a half and two leagues barefooted to preach—for at that time they wore no sandals,

<sup>5</sup> The name of the ‘father of the mitigated rule’ is not known ; the brother was Fray Joseph of Christ, already mentioned. He, however, lost courage and returned to the old observance.

which they were afterwards ordered to wear<sup>6</sup>—and that in the cold, when the snow was deep, and when they had preached and heard confessions came hom every late to their meal in the monastery: all this was as nothing because of their joy.// Of food they had enough, for the people of the neighbourhood around furnished them with more than they had need of, and some noblemen who lived near came to confession, and offered them better houses and sites. One of these was Don Luis, lord of the Five Towns.

8. This nobleman had built a church wherein to put a picture of our Lady, which was certainly most worthy of veneration. His father had sent it by a merchant from Flanders to his grandmother or mother, I forget which. He was so fond of it that he kept it by him for many years, and afterwards, when he was dying, sent for it. It is a large picture, and in all my life I have never seen a finer one; others also have said as much. The father Fray Antonio of Jesus, having gone to that place at the request of the nobleman and seen the picture, was so struck

<sup>6</sup> The Constitutions of the Discalced friars, written by Rubeo (*see* Appendix) say: 'let them go barefooted, except in cold places where they may wear sandals or sabots.' Father Gratian, in 1575, gave a similar order, either to be altogether barefooted or to wear alpagatas which protect only the sole of the foot. But some friars through an excess of austerity wished to make it obligatory for all to dispense with alpagatas and quoted S. Teresa as their authority, who thereupon, in a letter to Father Mariano, dated 12th December 1576, loudly protested against the imputation, saying she preferred that men of talent and learning should enter the Order, than that the friars by their exaggerations should frighten away those who wished to join them. The chapter of 1581 laid down the rule that the friars should wear alpagatas (made of the fibre of a kind of cactus), and this custom was kept up among the Spanish Carmelites until their union with the Italian Congregation (1875). The latter had from the first adopted the use of sandals made of leather. See also *Oeuvres*, iii. 191, n. 1.

by it, and justly so, that he consented to remove the monastery thither. The name of the place was Mancera. Though there was no well there, nor any means apparently of having one, the nobleman<sup>7</sup> built them a small monastery in keeping with their profession, and gave them the sacred vestments. He was most generous to them.<sup>8</sup>

95 I do not like to leave unsaid how our Lord supplied them with water ; it was considered miraculous. One day after supper Fray Antonio, the prior, was in the cloisters with the friars speaking of the distress they were in for water ; the prior rose up and took his stick, which he used to carry in his hands, and in one part of it made the sign of the cross, as I think, but I do not distinctly remember if he made a cross ; be that as it may, he pointed out with his stick and said, ‘Now dig here.’ They had dug but very little when the water rushed in such abundance that it is difficult to drain it off even when the well has to be cleared, and it is very good for drinking ; they have used it for every purpose of the

<sup>7</sup> Don Luis of Toledo was a near relative of the dukes of Alva, and the picture is spoken of by Fray Francis de Santa Maria as being one he had never seen surpassed in Italy or Spain. It represented our Lady with our Lord an Infant in her arms, attended by two angels (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxxix. 3).

<sup>8</sup> The translation was made with great solemnity on the feast of S. Barnabas, 11th June 1570. Fray Antonio, who had been preaching at Mancera in Lent, had also worked as a labourer in the building of the monastery, and when it was finished begged the provincial to honour the translation with his presence. Fray Alonso González not only came himself, but took others with him, and brought the barefooted friars in procession from Duruelo to Mancera, and then sang the first mass in the new monastery. Don Luis, the benefactor, had his reward, for his daughter, Doña Isabel de Leyva, became nun, and was professed in the Carmelite house in Salamanca in 1588 ; and his eldest son, Don Enrique de Toledo also received the habit of Carmel in Salamanca, as Fray Luis de Jesus, and died holily in Segovia in 1598 (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxxix. 4, 5).



house, and, as I said, it never fails.<sup>9</sup> Afterwards they enclosed a garden, and tried to find water in it, and, having made a machine for drawing it, and that at great cost, even to this day they have not been able to find any, however scantily.<sup>10</sup>

10. Then, when I saw the little house,<sup>11</sup> which just before it was not possible to stay in, filled with such a spirit that, look where I would, I found matter of edifica-

<sup>9</sup> So abundant was the stream of water that it overflowed the cloisters, and it was feared it might injure the foundations, which were not strong. Fray Antonio thereupon cried out, We ask for water, Lord, but not for a flood. The water ceased to flow and remained in the well, but always within reach (*Reforma*, bk. II, ch. xli. 1). As to the 'machine' (*norria*) see *Life*, xi. 11.

<sup>10</sup> The health of the fathers failed them in Mancera, and the bishop of Avila, Don Lorenzo de Otayud, who had a great veneration for the order, begged them to remove to Avila. He supplied all that was necessary, as the founder of the new convent which, after several sites had been tried, was finally established on the grounds occupied by the paternal house of S. Teresa. A chapel has been built where she is supposed to have been born, though there are different opinions as to the exact spot.

<sup>11</sup> The 'little house' in Duruelo, though thus abandoned, was never forgotten in the order, and friars went from Mancera from time to time on a pilgrimage to the place, which they regarded as the cradle of the Reform. On 28th November 1585, the anniversary of the foundation, the monastery of Mancera went in procession thither, wearing no sandals, with bare feet. The prior of Mancera, Fray Nicolas of S. Cyril, sang the mass, which was the aurora mass of the Nativity, and Fray Vicente de Cristo preached a sermon on Genesis xl. 13: *Restituet te in gradum pristinum*. The friars were intent only on celebrating the restoration of the order, but the words were prophetic in another sense, for there grew up a great desire to establish a community in Duruelo, and at last the order purchased the place from the heir of the original donor, to whom it seems to have reverted on its abandonment by the friars. The purchase was completed 4th September 1612, but it was not till February, 1640, that the chapter of the order admitted the restored foundation among the houses of Carmel (*Reforma*, bk. II. chs. xl. and xli.). At present nothing is left of the chapel, but the conventual buildings are used for farming.

tion, and when I heard of their way of life, of their mortification and prayer, and of the good example they were giving (for I was visited there by a nobleman and his wife whom I knew, who lived in the neighbourhood, and who could not speak enough of their holiness, and of the good they were doing in the villages), I could not give thanks enough to our Lord in my excessive joy, for I thought I saw a work begun for the great increase of the order and the service of our Lord. May it please His Majesty to carry it on as it is going on now, and then what I thought will become really true! The merchants who had come with me said that they would not have missed coming for the whole world. What a thing goodness is! These men were more pleased with the poverty they saw than with all the wealth they possessed, and their souls were satisfied and consoled.

11. When the fathers and myself had discussed certain matters in particular I asked them earnestly, as I am weak and wicked, not to be so severe with themselves in certain penances which they carried very far. As it had cost me many sighs and prayers to obtain from our Lord those who would make a beginning, and as I saw how good the beginning was, I feared lest Satan might be seeking how to kill them before my expectations could be realised. As I am imperfect and of little faith, I did not consider that this was a work of God, and that His Majesty would have to carry it on. They, however, having gifts I had not, made light of my advice to give up their practices; and so I came away in the greatest consolation, though I did not praise God worthily for so great a grace. May it please His Majesty of His goodness that I may become worthy to render Him some service for the great debt I owe Him! Amen. For I

saw clearly that this was a much greater grace on His part than was that which He gave me in founding the houses of nuns.

## CHAPTER XV

TREATS OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY OF THE GLORIOUS  
S. JOSEPH IN THE CITY OF TOLEDO, 1569

1. Martin Ramirez.—2. Is persuaded to found a monastery.—3. The Saint consents to found a house in Toledo.—4. Difficulties.—5. She speaks to the governor of Toledo.—6. Who gives his consent.—7. Martin of the Cross and Andrada.—8. Andrada finds a house.—9. Of which the Saint takes possession.—10. Preparation of the house.—11. Troubles.—12. Mass forbidden in the monastery.—13. Poverty.—14. Blessings of poverty.—15. Pride of family.—16. The Saint accepts in part the conditions of Alvarez.—17. The matter is settled.

1. IN the city of Toledo dwelt an honourable man, a servant of God, who was a merchant, Martin Ramirez by name. He would never marry, but his life was that of a very good Catholic, he being a man of great truthfulness and honesty. He added to his wealth by lawful trade, intending to do something with it that should be most pleasing to our Lord. He fell into a sickness which was unto death.

2. A father of the Society of Jesus, Paul Hernandez,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paul Hernandez or Fernandez. See *Rel.* vii. 5. note 10. Born in 1524 at Orense in Galicia, he entered the Society of Jesus in 1552, probably being already a priest. During the first ten years of his religious life he filled various offices in different colleges; in 1562 he was made rector of that of Murcia; four years later he was transferred to Toledo in the quality of Father minister, having charge of the household. In 1569 he was called to Belmonte as reader of Moral Theology; in 1586 we find him at Granada, and two years later he died at Murcia. He had been consultor of the Holy Office (the Inquisition) from 1570 till nearly the end of his life. *Oeuvres*, iii. 196, n. 1.

to whom I used to go for confession when I was there making arrangements for the foundation in Malagon,<sup>2</sup> and who was very desirous to see a monastery of our order built there, when he heard of his illness went to speak to him, and showed him that it would be a very great service rendered to our Lord if he founded the monastery, that he could establish in it the chaplains and chapelries, and that the solemnities and other observances which he was resolved to institute in one of the parishes of the city could be kept in the monastery. He was now so ill that he saw he had not time enough to arrange the matter, so he left it all in the hands of his brother, Alonso Alvarez Ramirez ; that done, God took him to Himself. He did very right, for Alonso Alvarez is a most discreet man, fearing God, upright, given to almsdeeds, accessible to reason ; of him, for I have had much to do with him, I can say this as an eyewitness in all truth.

3. When Martin Ramirez died I was occupied in founding the house in Valladolid, and there received letters from the father Paul Hernandez and Alonso Alvarez giving an account of what had taken place : they said in their letters that if I accepted the foundation I was to hasten thither ; so I set out shortly after the house was settled.<sup>3</sup> Arriving in Toledo on the eve of our Lady

<sup>2</sup> This was in the year 1568, and the Saint was in Toledo in the beginning of that year.

<sup>3</sup> The Saint received the letters probably in the beginning of December, 1568, for she signed powers of attorney on the 7th in favour of Father Hernandez and the father rector of the society, who were to do all things necessary on her behalf. Illness and the severity of the winter, as well as the necessities of the new foundation, kept the Saint in Valladolid, but on 21st February 1569, she set out on the journey, and on her way to Avila made the visit to Duruelo mentioned in the last chapter. In the middle of March, accompanied by the two nuns Isabel of S. Dominic and Isabel of S. Paul, both professed, she

of the Incarnation,<sup>4</sup> I went to the house of Doña Luisa, the foundress of Malagon, and in which I had been staying at other times. I was received with great joy, for she has a great affection for me. I had taken with me two nuns as my companions from S. Joseph's, Avila, great servants of God; a room, as usual, was given us at once, wherein we lived as if we were in a monastery. I began forthwith to discuss the matter with Alonso Alvarez and Diego Ortiz, a son-in-law of his, who, though a very good man and a theologian, was much more wedded to his own opinion than Alonso Alvarez; he did not yield so readily to reason. They began by insisting on many conditions which I did not think right to grant.

4. We continued to discuss the arrangements, and were looking for a house to let in order to take possession; none could be found fitted for the purpose, though diligent search was made, neither could I persuade the administrator to give us his permission, for at that time there was no archbishop,<sup>5</sup> though the lady in whose house

departed for Toledo with their chaplain, Gonzalo de Aranda, the priest whom the Saint spoke of in ch. xxxvi. 18, of her *Life* (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxiii. 6).

<sup>4</sup> That is on the eve of the Annunciation, 24th March.

<sup>5</sup> The Archbishop of Toledo, the celebrated Dominican Fray Bartolomeo Carranza, who had accompanied Philip II to England and had been confessor to Queen Mary, who without his knowledge and against his will obtained for him in May 1557, the archbishopric on the death of Cardinal Don Juan Martinez Siliceo, had become suspected of heresy and was thrown into the prison of the Holy Office at Valladolid in 1559, where he remained until, in 1568, Pope S. Pius V. taking the matter out of the hands of the Spanish Inquisition placed it in those of the Holy Office in Rome. There Carranza remained a prisoner until 1576 when he was absolved and sent to the monastery of Santa Maria sopra Minerva where he died within a fortnight. The question of his innocence or guilt has never been cleared up. S. Teresa was therefore right in saying 'at that time there was no archbishop.'



we were staying laboured much, and also a nobleman, one of the canons of the church, Don Pedro Manrique,<sup>6</sup> son of the president of Castille, who was and is a very great servant of God, for he is still living, and, though not in good health, entered the Society of Jesus a few years after the foundation of this house to which he still belongs. He was held in great respect in the city, for he was a man of great sense and worth. Nevertheless, I could not get permission, for when the administrator was a little softened the members of the council were not.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, Alonso Alvarez and myself could not agree, owing to his son-in-law, to whom he gave way too much; at last we disagreed altogether.<sup>8</sup>

5. I did not know what to do, for I had come hither for no other purpose but this, and I saw it would cause much observation if I went away without making a foundation. Nevertheless, the refusal of the permission distressed me more than everything else, for I knew that, once in possession of a house, our Lord would provide, as He has done in other places; so I resolved to speak

<sup>6</sup> He was uncle of Don Juan and Doña Casilda de Padilla, of whom the Saint speaks in chs. x. and xi. De la Puente, in his *Life of Baltasar Alvarez*, says that he, unwilling to give up his freedom and the things of this world, had resisted grace for some time, but finally yielded when he saw his nephew so courageous in his abandonment of all things. He entered the Society in 1573, and died at Alcalá 12th January 1577.

<sup>7</sup> The council was originally a civil court, but as the archbishop of Toledo was powerful in it, partly because of his dignity and partly because of his great territorial possessions, in the end the council became an ecclesiastical tribunal (*De la Fuente*). The administrator at this time was Don Gomez Tello Giron (*Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. xxiii. 8). De Yepes calls him Licentiate (bk. ii. ch. 22).

<sup>8</sup> When the treaty was broken off the Saint declared, now that this little idol, money, has failed us, we shall make a better bargain (*Reforma, ut supra*).

to the administrator, and went to a church<sup>9</sup> near his house, and sent to beg him to have the goodness to speak to me. It was now more than two months since we had begun to labour at this, and matters every day were becoming worse. I told him when I saw him that it was a hard thing there should be women desirous of living in great austerity, perfection, and retirement, while persons who did nothing of the kind, but lived at their ease, wished to hinder the doing of those things which are for the service of our Lord.<sup>10</sup>

6. I said this to him, and much also besides, with a certain firmness of purpose with which our Lord inspired me. His heart was so touched that he gave me permission before I left him. I came away very happy ; I thought I had everything while I had nothing, for all the money I had may have been three or four ducats ; with these I bought two pictures on canvas, because I had no picture whatever to set on the altar, two straw mattresses, and a blanket. There was no way of getting a house ; with Alonso Alvarez I had broken. A friend

<sup>9</sup> The Saint took with her the sisters Isabel of S. Dominic and Isabel of S. Paul (*Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. xxiii. 8). The interview took place on 8th May ; the administrator gained by his opposition, for the Saint, according to the depositions of Sister Mary of S. Francis, in the information taken at Alba for the beatification, invariably spoke well of him, and desired the nuns to make special intercession for him (*Fuente*, vol. vi. p. 310, 10). Saint Teresa says it was more than two months since she had taken the first steps towards securing the permission. In fact, she had already written on the subject to Doña Luisa de la Cerda on 13th December 1568.

<sup>10</sup> One day when S. Teresa was praying in the church of San Clemente, a woman who had accidentally lost one of her wooden shoes suspected her of having taken it, and so with the other shoe dealt her several heavy blows on the head. Joining her companions the Saint said : 'God bless this good woman ! I had already enough headache without that.' *Oeuvres*, III. 203, note.

of mine, a merchant in the city, Alonso de Avila, who never would marry, occupied only in good works, visiting the prisoners and doing other good deeds, and who had told me not to distress myself—he would find me a house, fell ill. A Franciscan friar, Martin of the Cross, a most holy man, had arrived some days before this ; he remained some time, and when he went away sent me a young man, by name Andrada, whose confessions he heard ; he was not at all rich, but very poor, and him the friar had requested to do whatever I told him. One day, when I was in church hearing mass, the young man came to speak to me and to tell me what the holy man had said to him : I was to rely on his doing for me everything that was in his power, though he could help us only in his own person. I thanked him, and it amused me and my companions to look at the help the holy man had sent us, for the young man's appearance was not that of a person with whom the Carmelite nuns could converse.

✓ 7. When I saw myself at last in possession of the licence, and without anybody to help me, I knew not what to do, nor to whom I should apply to find me a house. I recollected the youth whom Fray Martin of the Cross had sent me, and spoke of him to my companions. They laughed at me, and told me to do nothing of the sort, for it would end in nothing but in making our affair public. I would not listen to them, because I was confident that, as he had been sent by the servant of God, there was some mystery in it, and that he would do something. So I sent for him, told him what was going on as a great secret, and, charging him to keep it as earnestly as I could, asked him to find a house for our purpose : I would give security for the rent. The good Alonso de Avila was to be my surety, who, as I said just

now, had fallen ill. The young man thought it an easy thing to do, and told me he would find me a house.

8. Early the next morning, when I was hearing mass in the Church of the Society of Jesus, he came and spoke to me. He told me he had found a house, and that he had the keys of it with him—that we might go and see it; and so we did. It was so good that we remained in it nearly a year. // Oftentimes when I think of this foundation the ways of God amaze me: for nearly three months—at least, it was more than two, I do not clearly remember—such wealthy persons had been going up and down Toledo in search of a house, and, as if there were no houses in the city, had been able to find none; but this young man came, who was very poor, and our Lord was pleased he should find one forthwith;<sup>11</sup> then, when the monastery might have been founded without trouble, upon our agreeing with Alonso Alvarez, He would not have it so, but quite otherwise, in order that the foundation might be laid in poverty and trouble.

9. Then, as we were satisfied with the house, I ordered possession to be taken at once before anything could be done to it, in order that there might be no hindrance. Soon after Andrada came to tell me that the house would be left empty that very day, and that we might send in our furniture. I told him there was little to send, for we had nothing but two straw mattresses and a blanket. He must have been surprised. My companions were vexed

<sup>11</sup> Andrada is described as a *pobre estudiante*. After this his worldly estate changed: he became wealthy, married well and honourably, and his descendants attribute their prosperity to the service which he was able to render the Saint (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxiii. 11). The house was situated on the *Plazuela del Barrio Nuevo*, near the church of *Nuestra Señora del Transito*. It was temporarily fitted as a convent at the small expenditure of 100 *reales*.

at my saying it, and asked me how I could do it, for if he saw we were so poor he would not help us. I did not think of that, and he did not think of it either, for He who had given him that good-will would continue it to him till he finished His work ; and so it was, for he set about arranging the house and bringing in workmen so earnestly that I do not think we were more in earnest than he. We borrowed what is necessary for saying mass, and at nightfall, with a workman, went to take possession, having with us a little bell, one of those rung at the elevation, for we had no other, and spent the whole of that night in great fear, cleaning the house. The only room for a church was one the entrance into which was from another house adjoining, inhabited by some women, and which also the mistress thereof had let to us.

10. And now, when we had everything ready and the dawn at hand—we had not ventured to say anything to the women, lest they should make our coming known—we began to open the door, which was to be in the wall that divided the two houses, and which opened into a very small courtyard. The women heard the noise, and rose in terror from their beds ; we had a great deal of trouble in soothing them, and the time was come for saying mass.<sup>12</sup> Though they were violent they did us no

<sup>12</sup> Fray Juan Gutierrez de la Madalena, prior of the Carmelites, said the mass. Later on he turned against the Saint ; he was elected provincial in 1576, and as such was charged with the execution of the decrees of the General chapter of 1575 against the Reform ; he presided at the election of a prioress at the Incarnation at Avila in 1577, which resulted in the excommunication of fifty-five nuns who had recorded their votes in favour of S. Teresa. His office terminated on 15 Sept. 1579.—Doña Luisa de la Cerda and her household were present, with others drawn thither by the unwonted ringing of a bell. The Most Holy Sacrament was reserved, and formal possession was taken, it being the feast of S. Boniface, 14 May 1569 (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxiv. 1).



harm, and when they saw what it was for our Lord made them quiet.<sup>13</sup>

✓ 11. I saw afterwards how hastily we had acted, for then, in the exaltation which comes from God, we saw no difficulties. When the owner of the house heard that it had been made into a church there was trouble, for she was the wife of one whose estate was entailed, and great was the noise she made. When she saw that we would give a good price for it if it suited us, our Lord was pleased she should be quiet. Again, when the members of the council heard that the monastery was founded—they never would have given their consent—they were very angry, and went to the house of a dignitary of the Church, to whom I had made known our plans as a secret, and told him what they were threatening to do. As for the administrator, he had occasion to take a journey after he had granted the permission, and was not in the city; so they went with their story to the dignitary I am speaking of, astonished at such audacity that a poor woman should found a monastery against their will. He made answer that he knew nothing about it, and pacified them as well as he could, telling them that the thing had been done in other places, and that it could not have happened without sufficient reasons.

12. Some days later—I do not know how many—they sent us an order forbidding the celebration of mass till we produced the licence under which we were acting. I answered most gently, and said I should do as they commanded me, though I was not bound to obey them in the matter; and begged Don Pedro Manrique, the

<sup>13</sup> The Saint gave them a little money, and promised to find them another house (*Ribera*, ii. 14).

nobleman I spoke of before,<sup>14</sup> to go and talk to them, and show them our faculties. He brought them over, especially as the thing was done ; for if it had not been so we should have had troubles.<sup>15</sup>

13. We were for some days with no other furniture but the two straw mattresses and the blanket, and on that first day we had not even a withered leaf to fry a sardine with, when somebody, I know not who he was, moved by our Lord, laid a faggot in the church wherewith we helped ourselves. At night it was cold, and we felt it, though we covered ourselves with the blankets and our cloaks of serge which we wear over all ; these were serviceable to us. It will be thought impossible that we, who were staying in the house of a lady<sup>16</sup> whose affection for me was so great, should have come in here in such great poverty. I do not know how it was, except that it was the will of God we should learn by experience the blessing of this virtue. I did not ask her for anything, for I hate to give trouble, and she perhaps never thought of it, for I owe her more than she could give us. *///*

14. To us<sup>17</sup> it was a great blessing, for the inward comfort and joy we then felt was such as to make me often ponder on the treasures which our Lord has laid up in virtues. The poverty we were in seemed to me as the

<sup>14</sup> § 4, above.

<sup>15</sup> Her old friend the Dominican, Fray Vicente Baron, took up her cause at the same time (*Ribera*, II. ch. xiv).

<sup>16</sup> Doña Luisa de la Cerda.

<sup>17</sup> The Saint sent for more nuns from Avila, and there came from her old monastery of the Incarnation Doña Catalina Guiera, Doña Juana Guiera, two sisters, Doña Antonia del Aguila, and Isabel Suarez ; of these, on account of the severity of the rule, or the great poverty of the house, Doña Juana Guiera alone remained, who took the name of Juana of the Holy Ghost. From Malagon came Anne of Jesus and Isabel of S. Joseph (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxiv. 3).

source of a sweet contemplation, but it did not last long, for Alonso Alvarez himself and others provided for us soon, and that in greater abundance than we desired. Certain it is that my sadness thereupon became so great that I could not but regard myself as one once possessed of many gold trinkets of which I was robbed and left in poverty ; I was in pain when my poverty was ended, and so were my sisters, and when I saw them sorrowing I asked them what the matter was, and they answered, 'What is the matter, mother ? We do not seem to be poor any longer.'

15. From that time forth the desire of being very poor grew within me, and I felt a strength to enable me to hold in contempt the goods of this world, seeing that in the absence of them grows interior good, which, of a truth, brings with it fulness and rest. During those days in which I had to treat of the foundation with Alonso Alvarez, many were the people who thought I was doing wrong, and told me so, for they looked on his family as neither great nor noble, though very good in its own place, as I said before, saying that I should not want help in so important a city as Toledo. I did not pay much attention to this, for, thanks be to God, I have always prized goodness more than descent ; but so much was said to the governor on the subject that he gave his licence on condition that I made the foundation as in other places.

16. I knew not what to do, for the monastery was founded, and they<sup>15</sup> came again to treat about it. However, as the foundation was now made I compromised the matter by giving them the chancel, but in the monastery itself they were to have no rights, as it is at present. A great personage wished to have the chancel, and many

<sup>15</sup> The family of Martin Ramirez, mentioned in § 1.

were the opinions, I not knowing what to do. It pleased our Lord to give me light in the matter, and so He said to me at once, 'How useless will birth and dignities be before the judgment-seat of God !' And He gave me a severe rebuke because I had listened to those who spoke in this way, for these were not matters which those who despised the world should think of.<sup>19</sup>

17. These and many other considerations made me ashamed of myself ; I resolved to conclude the arrangements proposed by giving them the chancel, and I have never repented of it, for we saw clearly how scant were our means for buying a house, and by their help we bought that in which we are now living, and which is one of the good houses of Toledo, and cost 12,000 ducats : and, as so many masses are said in it and festivals kept, it is a very great joy to the nuns, and brings much joy to the people. If I had respected the vain opinions of the world, it would have been impossible, so far as I can see, to find so many advantages, and it would have been a wrong done to him who did us the charity with so much goodwill.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See *Relation*, III. 1. A patent granted by Rubeo, and dated Rome 24th September 1570, authorised the Saint to accept all the conditions laid down by the family of Ramirez, and contained in a Memorial which had reached the General on the 11th of the same month.

<sup>20</sup> The house bought with the money of Alonso Ramirez was in the ward of S. Nicholas, opposite the Mint, and was taken possession of in 1570 : but, as the charities founded by the family proved a trouble and annoyance to the nuns, the monastery was removed to the house of Alonso Franco, near the Misericordia, in 1594 : that proved too small for the nuns, and the prioress Beatriz of Jesus, niece of S. Teresa, bought a house in the parish of S. Leocadia, near the Cambron gate, the palace of the Dukes of Medina Celi, where S. Teresa had been the guest of Doña Luisa de la Cerda, and transferred thither the community in 1607, where it still remains. The foundations of the Ramirez family continued in their original site, and were known as the oratory of S. Joseph.

## CHAPTER XVI

OF CERTAIN THINGS THAT TOOK PLACE IN THIS CONVENT OF S.  
JOSEPH OF TOLEDO, TO THE HONOUR AND GLORY OF GOD

- 1.—Ann of the Mother of God.—2. Resigns her possessions before being professed.—3. Obedience of the nuns.—4. Austerities.—5. Death of a nun.—6. Peaceful death of Carmelites.—7. Story of a gambler.—8. Penitent in the hour of death.

1. I HAVE thought it well to say something of the way in which certain nuns laboured in the service of our Lord, in order that they who shall come after them may endeavour to imitate these good beginnings. Before the house was bought there came in a nun, Anne of the Mother of God,<sup>1</sup> forty years of age, who had spent her whole life in the service of God; and, though in her state and household there was no want of comfort, for she lived alone and had property, she chose rather the poverty and obedience in the order, and accordingly came to speak to me. Her health was not strong, but when I saw a soul so good and so determined I looked on it as a good beginning for the foundation, and so I admitted her. It pleased God to give her much better health in her life of austerity and obedience than she had in the midst of her comforts, and while she had her liberty.

<sup>1</sup> Ana de la Palma was a wealthy widow, and had been so for twenty years, living a most holy life in her own house. She was forty years old when she entered the order, and made her profession in Toledo, 15th November 1570, and died the death of the just in Cuerva, 2nd November 1610.



2. What excited my devotion, and why I speak of her here is this : before she made her profession she resigned all her possessions—she was very rich—and gave them as an alms to this house. I was distressed about this, and refused my consent, telling her that perhaps she might repent of it herself, or we might not admit her to her profession, and that it was a dangerous thing to do, though if it should so happen we should not send her away without giving back what she had given to us ; but I wished to show her the worst side of the case for two reasons ; firstly, that there might be no occasion for temptation ; and secondly, to try her spirit the more. Her answer was, that if it should so happen she would beg her bread for the love of God, and I could get no other answer from her. She lived in the greatest happiness, and her health was much better.

3. So mortified and obedient were the nuns that while I was there I had to watch what the prioress was saying, for the sisters did what she told them, though she might be speaking without reflection. One day, when looking at a pond in the garden, the prioress said to them, ‘What will happen if I tell her’—meaning a sister who was standing close by—‘to throw herself in?’ She had no sooner spoken thus than the sister was in the water, and so much wetted that it was necessary to change her habit. On another occasion—I was present myself—the nuns were going to confession, and the one who was waiting for the other to come out of the confessional went up to the prioress<sup>2</sup> and spoke to her ; the prioress said, ‘Why, what is this ? Was that a good way to recollect herself ?

<sup>2</sup> As S. Teresa wrote first ‘and spoke to me and I said to her . . .’ it appears that in this case she herself made this unfortunate remark. She afterwards corrected the text as above.

Let her put her head in the well, and there think of her sins.' The sister understood that she was to throw herself into the well, and made such haste to do so that, if they had not quickly gone after her, she would have thrown herself in, thinking she was doing the greatest service in the world to God.

4. I could tell other things of the same kind, showing their great mortification, so much so that it became necessary for learned men to explain to them wherein obedience consisted, and to lay some restraints upon them, for they were doing strange things, and if it had not been for their good intentions their demerits would have outweighed their merits. And it was thus not only in this monastery—I happen to be speaking of this alone now—but in all; so much is done that I could wish I were not concerned in them,<sup>3</sup> that I might speak thereof to the honour of our Lord in His servants.

5. When I was there one of the sisters<sup>4</sup> became sick unto death. When she had received the Sacraments, and the last anointing had been administered, her peace and

<sup>3</sup> A very devout young lady, whom Yepes knew, wished to become a nun, and, with the approbation of the Saint, was on a given day to enter the monastery. But the evening before she had something to say to S. Teresa, and went to the monastery to see her. When she had finished she said to the Saint while taking leave, 'Mother, I will also bring my Bible.' 'Bible, child?' said the Saint with great earnestness. 'No, you shall not come here; we do not want you or your Bible, for we are ignorant women, and do nothing but spin and obey.' She was not received, and by degrees, giving way to her curiosity, fell into the hands of the Inquisitors, and had to make a public confession of her faults (*Yepes*, bk. ii. ch. 21).

<sup>4</sup> Sister Petronila of S. Andrew (*Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. xxvi. 5). She was a native of Toledo, and made her profession 23rd March 1571. (*Fuente*, vol. vi. p. 71). There are, however, chronological difficulties which seem to make it doubtful that she could have been the nun referred to.

joy were so great that we felt we could ask her to recommend us to God in heaven, and to the saints to whom we had a devotion, as if she were only departing for some other country. Shortly before she died I went in to remain with her, having been before the Most Holy Sacrament to beg for her a good death from our Lord. And so, when I went in, I saw our Lord standing in the middle of the bed's head with his arms a little extended, as if protecting her. He said to me that I<sup>5</sup> might be certain He would in the same way protect all the nuns who should die in these monasteries, and that they ought not to fear temptations in the hour of death. I was greatly comforted and recollected, and after a little while I spoke to her, when she said to me, 'Oh, mother, what great things I have to see!' and thus she died as an angel.

6. I observed in some nuns who died afterwards a certain peace and quiet which was like a trance or the tranquillity of prayer, with no signs of any temptation whatever. I trust, therefore, in the goodness of God, that He will have compassion on us in the hour of death, through the merits of His Son, and of His glorious Mother, whose habit we wear. Let us then, my daughters, strive to become true Carmelites, for the journey will soon be over; and if we knew the distress that comes upon men at this time, and the cunning and deceit with which Satan tempts them, we should make much of this grace.

7. I am now reminded of one thing I should like to tell you, for I knew the person, and indeed he was somewhat of kin to some of my kindred. He was a great gambler,

<sup>5</sup> There is a painting at the convent of Toledo representing this scene.

and was not without some learning, by means of which the devil began to deceive him, making him believe that it was of no use whatever to repent in the hour of death. He maintained this so resolutely that they could not persuade him to make his confession; all reasoning with him was to no purpose, and all the while he was extremely sorry and penitent for his wicked life. But he would say, why should he confess, for he saw that he was already damned? A Dominican friar, a learned man and his confessor, did nothing but reason with him, but Satan suggested answers so subtle that all was in vain.

8. He remained in this state for some days. His confessor did not know what to do, but he and others must have prayed very earnestly to our Lord, for the sick man found mercy. His disease being now very serious—a pain in the side—the confessor came again, and he may have brought with him more arguments carefully considered wherewith to answer him, but he would not have gained his cause if our Lord had not had compassion upon him by softening his heart. He sat up in his bed as if he had not been ill, and said, ‘As you tell me that my confession may do me good, well, then, I will make it,’ and sent for a clerk or notary, I do not remember which, and made a solemn oath to abstain from play hereafter and to amend his life, of which they were to be witnesses. He made his confession most humbly, and received the sacraments with such devotion that, as far as we can judge according to our faith, he was saved. May it be the good pleasure of our Lord, my sisters, that we may live as true daughters of the Virgin, and keep our rule, that our Lord may show us the mercy which He has promised us! Amen.

## CHAPTER XVII

THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERIES OF FRIARS AND OF  
NUNS AT PASTRANA, IN ONE AND THE SAME YEAR  
1579, I MEAN 1569

1.—The Saint's joy in Toledo.—2. And pain at parting.—3. Directed to go to Pastrana.—4. Arrives in Madrid.—5. Fray Juan de la Miseria.—6. Mariano of S. Benedict.—7. His vocation.—8. The Saint persuades Mariano to become a Carmelite.—9. He consents.—10. A site found for the new monastery of friars.—11. The two provincials consent.—12. The princess of Eboli troublesome.—13. The friars established at Pastrana.—14. The princess of Eboli becomes a nun.—15. The nuns depart from Pastrana.

I. IN about a fortnight after the foundation of the house in Toledo, when I had arranged the little church, put up the gratings, and done what was very troublesome to do—for, as I said, we remained about a year in that house—and when I was worn out looking after the workmen, and all was at last finished, it was the eve of Pentecost.<sup>1</sup> That very morning, as we were at meals in the refectory, I felt a great joy in seeing there was nothing more to do, and that on this feast I could for some time taste of the sweetness of our Lord; I could scarcely eat, so great was the joy of my soul. I did not much deserve this consolation, for they came to tell me while I was thus employed that a servant of the princess of Eboli, wife of Ruy Gomez de Silva,<sup>2</sup> was waiting. I went out, and learnt that she had sent for me: it had

<sup>1</sup> Whitsunday in 1569 fell on 29th May.

<sup>2</sup> Ruy Gomez de Silva, prince of Eboli, first duke of Pastrana, treasurer of Spain and the Indies. The princess Doña Ana de Mendoza y la Cerda, daughter of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Count of Melito, was born 29th June 1540, and became celebrated for her beauty.



been arranged between us some time before that I was to found a monastery in Pastrana. I did not think it was to be so soon.

2. It gave me some pain, because there was great danger in leaving a monastery so newly founded, and to which opposition had been made. I therefore determined at once that I would not go, and said so. He replied that this was inconvenient, for the princess was there already, having gone thither for no other purpose ; that it would be an affront to her. Nevertheless, I was not minded to go, and told him so ; he might go and take some food ; I would write to the princess, and he might depart. He was a very honourable man, and, though not at all pleased, yet when I told him my reason he was satisfied.

3. The nuns who had just arrived, and who were to live in the monastery, did not see how it was possible for me to quit the house so soon. I went before the Most Holy Sacrament to beg of our Lord that I might write in such a way as to give no offence, for we were in

She was betrothed to the prince who was considerably older, at the age of 12. She had ten children of whom three died in infancy. She had the misfortune of losing her right eye. The prince died in Madrid 29th July 1573. Doña Catalina de Cardona in her desert saw him in a vision at the moment, when he told her that for the great alms he had given through her he was saved and in purgatory, but in torments that none would believe. She was to get the prayers of the Carmelite friars of our Lady of Succour, and have the masses said at once which his wife, the princess, was to ask. Doña Catalina, pitying her friend, disciplined herself at once to blood, and the next day the vicar of the monastery entering her cell saw the state it was in, and rebuked her for her excessive penance. She told him the truth, and the vicar marked the day and the hour to test it. On the third day came a messenger from the princess announcing the death, and bringing alms to the monastery of seventy ducats, beside the retribution for two hundred masses. Within a few days Doña Catalina had another vision of the prince, who thanked her for her service, and told her of the great relief it had brought to him (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xviii. 5).

a very difficult position, because of the friars who had then begun the reform, and in every way it would be well for us to have the good graces of Ruy Gomez, whose influence over the king and all people was so great. However, I do not remember whether I thought of this, but I know well that I wished not to offend the princess. While I was in this perplexity our Lord said to me that I was to go without fail, that I was going for something more than for that foundation, and that I was to take with me the rule and constitutions.<sup>3</sup> When I heard this, though I had great reasons for not going, I durst not act but according to my custom in like circumstances, which is to be guided by the advice of my confessor. I then sent for him ; I did not tell him what I had heard in prayer, for I am always better satisfied so, but I implored our Lord to give my confessors light according to the measure of that which they naturally understand, and His Majesty puts it into their hearts whenever He will have anything done.

4. This has often happened to me—so did it now, for my confessor, having considered the whole matter, was of opinion I ought to go, and thereupon I determined to go. I left Toledo on the morrow after Pentecost.<sup>4</sup> Our road lay through Madrid, and we went to lodge, my companions and I, in the monastery of the Franciscans, with a lady who had founded it, and who was living in it, Doña Leonor de Mascareñas, formerly governess of the king, and a very great servant of our Lord. I had been lodged

<sup>3</sup> See below, § 8.

<sup>4</sup> On Monday, 30th May, in a carriage which the princess of Eboli had sent for her. Isabel of S. Dominic was left prioress of S. Joseph's in Toledo, and the Saint took with her Isabel of S. Paul, and Doña Antonia del Aguila, who had come from her old monastery of the Incarnation, Avila (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxvii. 2).

there on other occasions when I had to travel that way, and that lady ever showed me much kindness.<sup>5</sup>

5. That lady told me she was glad I had come at that time, for there was a hermit there who greatly desired to see me, and that he and his companions, she thought, were living in a way very like that prescribed by our rule. To me, who had but two friars, came the thought that it would be a great thing if by any means it were so, and so I asked her to find an opportunity for us to speak together. He lodged in a room which the lady had given him, with another brother, a young man by name Fray Juan de la Miseria,<sup>6</sup> a great servant of God, and most simple in the

<sup>5</sup> See note (23) ch. iii. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Juan de la Miseria, in the world Giovanni de Narduch, was born in the kingdom of Naples: in his youth he had been with Ambrogio Mariano; after some years of separation they met again in the desert of Tardon, near Cordova, where they renewed their friendship. They entered the order of Mount Carmel together, Juan de la Miseria as a lay brother (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxvii. 8). Fray Jerome Gratian of the Mother of God, in the third part of his *Declamacion*, says that he ordered Fray Juan, when painting the cloisters of the monastery of the nuns in Seville, to paint a likeness of S. Teresa. Being then the superior of the Saint, he made her, for her greater mortification, sit for her portrait. Juan was a poor painter, but in no other way could a portrait of the Saint be had, for neither she nor I, says Fray Jerome, would have allowed any other to make a likeness. Fuente quotes this passage, and adds a note to the effect that the portrait was ill done; and that the Saint, looking at it when finished, said mirthfully, 'Fray Juan, God forgive thee! what I have had to suffer at thy hands and after all to paint me blear-eyed and ugly.' This painting is still at the convent of Seville, but has been partly repainted, a later artist having added the arms and hands of the Saint which Fray Juan had forgotten, and also the dove, scroll and rays as well as the first and the third parts of the legend. See *Oeuvres*, iv. 412. In the troubles of the order when the Fathers of the Mitigated Observance for a time brought the Reform within their jurisdiction, Juan had to suffer, and in Rome consulted S. Philip, who advised him to suffer and obey. (Note of Fray Antonio de San Joseph, on Letter of 19th Aug. 1578.) Juan de la Miseria died in Madrid in the year 1616, in great reputation for sanctity, being more than a hundred years old (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxxvii. 16).

ways of the world. Then, when we were talking together, he told me that he wished to go to Rome. Before I go on further I should like to say what I know of this father, by name Mariano of S. Benedict.<sup>7</sup>

6. He was an Italian by birth, a man of very great abilities and skill, and a doctor. When in the service of the queen of Poland, entrusted with the ministry of her household, having never any inclination to marry, but holding a commandery in the order of S. John, he was called by our Lord to give up all he possessed, that he might the better labour for his own salvation. He had afterwards to undergo some trouble, for the death of a certain person was laid to his charge. Kept in prison for two years, he would not allow a lawyer or any other to

<sup>7</sup> On the margin of the MS. is written by Father Gratian: "Mariano de Açaro." Ambrogio Mariano Azaro was born in Bitonto, in the kingdom of Naples, of noble parents. One of his companions at school, where he was greatly distinguished, was Hugo Buoncompagno, afterwards Pope Gregory XIII, who always retained his affection for him. Mariano became a doctor in canon and civil law, was sent to the council of Trent, where his ability and wisdom led to his employment in many difficult affairs both in Germany and the Low Countries. Later on he entered the order of S. John of Jerusalem. He came to Madrid, having under his care the prince of Salmona, a boy of nine, and there his eyes were opened to see the vanities of the world. In Cordova, where he was on business of state, he made the spiritual exercises under the direction of the Jesuits, and was inclined to join the society, but could not make up his mind to do so, because the fathers never met in choir, and mixed much in the world. One day, from the window of his cell, which opened into the church—it was during his retreat—he saw the hermit Matthew enter, by whose venerable aspect he was attracted, and finally led into the desert of Tardon, in the year 1562, where he lived under obedience to that simple man, being himself not only a brave soldier, but a learned doctor, and, the more to humble himself, gained his bread by spinning. He was professed in Pastrana in 1570, and died in Madrid in 1594, helped in his last hour by the presence of the martyrs SS. Cosmas and Damian, to whom he had been very devout during his life (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxvii. and xxviii. 5).

defend him, but only God and His justice. There were witnesses who said that he had asked them to commit the murder. As it happened to the old men who accused S. Susanna,<sup>8</sup> so it did to these, for, each of them being severally questioned where he was at the time, one said he was sitting on his bed, another that he was at the window ; at last they confessed that the accusation was a falsehood. He told me that it cost him a great sum to set those witnesses at liberty without being punished, and that the very man who had caused him all that trouble fell into his hands, that he had to proceed judicially against him, but that he had stretched his power to the utmost not to do him any harm.

7. It must be for these and his other virtues—he was a pure and chaste man, hating the conversation of women—that he merited light from our Lord to see what the world is, that he might withdraw from it. Accordingly he began to consider which order he should enter, and, testing now one, now another, he must have found something in all, as he told me, unsuited for himself. He heard that some hermits were dwelling together near Seville, in a desert called Tardon, having for their superior a most holy man, whom they called Father Matthew.<sup>9</sup> Each hermit had his

<sup>8</sup> Daniel, ch. xiii.

<sup>9</sup> The venerable father Mateo de la Fuente, restorer of the order of S. Basil in Spain, born about the year 1524, in Almanuete, near Toledo. He studied in Salamanca, began his eremitical life in the neighbourhood of Cordova, and withdrew into the recesses of the Sierra Morena because of the concourse of the people. Blessed Juan de Avila, his director, commanded him to take some to live with him, and thus he peopled a desert where wild artichokes grew (*Cardos sylvestris*), and gave it the name of the Cardon, which was afterwards changed into the Tardon. These hermits tilled the ground, for their maxim was that he who does not work shall not eat. They adopted the rule of S. Basil when S. Pius V ordered the hermits to observe a rule already approved (*Fuente*). See the Bull, *Lubricum vitæ*, 17th Nov. 1568. S. Teresa says the hermitage



own cell ; the divine office was not said, but they had an oratory where they met together to hear mass. They had no revenues, and neither would nor did receive alms, but maintained themselves by the labour of their hands, and every one took his meals by himself poorly enough. When I heard of it I thought it was a picture of the holy fathers of our order. He had been living in this fashion for eight years.

8. When the holy Council of Trent had been held, and when the decree came forth by which all hermits were to be brought under the discipline of the regular orders, Mariano wished to go to Rome, to beg that they might be left as they were ; and this was his object when I spoke to him. When he had recounted to me his way of life I showed him the primitive rule of the order, and told him he might without all that trouble keep his observances, for they were the same as ours, especially that of living by the work of his own hands, which was that which had the greatest attraction for him. He had said to me that the world was ruined by greed, and that this it was that brought religion into contempt. As I was of the same opinion myself, we agreed at once on this, and also upon everything else ; so that when I showed him how much

of Tardon was near Seville, but in a letter addressed to Doña Catalina de Cardona, dated 7th May 1571, Father Mariano who must have known best, says distinctly it was near Cordova. This letter which is inedited contains the following passage : ‘ At present the Pope has given us a rule and we have established a house in this place, near Pastrana, close to the Prince Ruy Gomez. The Lord be praised, for in two years we have erected seven monasteries of our Discalced Carmelite nuns and two of Discalced Carmelite friars like those of our Capuchins in Italy, yet in even greater poverty. When it shall have pleased you to give me a full account of your doings (for which I ask as for an alms) I shall write more at length. Our Lord be in your soul. Your servant in the Lord Doctor Mariano Azaro, Italian, Discalced Carmelite friar.’

he might serve God in this our habit he told me he would think of it that very night.<sup>10</sup> I saw that his mind was nearly made up, and understood the meaning of what I had heard in prayer, that I was going for something more than for a monastery of nuns.<sup>11</sup> It gave me the very greatest pleasure, for I saw that our Lord would be greatly served by his entering the order.

9. His Majesty, who willed it, so moved his heart during the night that he called upon me the next day, having then fully made up his mind, and being also amazed at the change so suddenly wrought in himself, especially by a woman ; for even to this day he sometimes tells me so, as if she had been the cause of it, and not our Lord, who is able to change the hearts of men. His judgments are deep ! for this man, having lived so many years without knowing what resolution to take concerning his state—he was then in no state at all, being under no vows or obligation beyond that of a solitary life—was now so quickly led of God, who showed him how great a service he might render Him in this state, and that He wanted him for the purpose of carrying on what had been begun. He has been a great help, and it has cost him much trouble, and will cost him more before everything is settled,<sup>12</sup> if we may judge by the opposition made to the primitive rule ; for he is a man who, because of his

<sup>10</sup> S. Teresa gave a copy of the rule to Mariano, who took it with him to his lodging where he read it aloud, and explained it to Juan de la Miseria, his companion. Before he had gone through it he cried out, ‘ Brother John, we have found what we are seeking for ; that is the rule we should keep.’ The next morning he told Doña Leonor what had been the fruit of the night’s meditation, and she carried the good news at once to the Saint (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxvii. 3, 4).

<sup>11</sup> See § 3, above.

<sup>12</sup> The Saint wrote this in 1573 or 1574, and before the persecution began.

abilities, temper, and excellent life, has influence with many persons who help and protect us.

10. He then told me that in Pastrana—the very place I was going to—Ruy Gomez had given him a good hermitage, and a place for making there a settlement for hermits, and that he would give it to the order and take the habit himself. I thanked him, and praised our Lord greatly; for as yet, of the two monasteries for the founding of which two licences had been given me by the most reverend our father-general, only one had been established. Thereupon I sent a messenger to the two fathers already mentioned, the present and the last provincial, earnestly begging them to give me leave, for the foundation could not be made without their consent. I wrote also to the bishop of Avila, Don Alvaro de Mendoza, who was our great friend, asking him to obtain the licence from them.

11. It pleased God that they should give their consent. They must have thought that the monastery would do them no harm in a place so far out of the way. Mariano promised to go thither when the permission should come; so I went away extremely glad.<sup>13</sup> I found the princess and the prince Ruy Gomez in Pastrana, by whom I was most kindly received. They gave us a lodging for ourselves alone, wherein we remained longer than I expected. As the house was so small, the princess had ordered a great part of it to be pulled down and then to be rebuilt; not the outer walls, however, but a very large part of it.

<sup>13</sup> The Saint, having asked Mariano to remain in Madrid till he received the expected permission from the provincial, set out for Pastrana with the two nuns who had come with her from Toledo (see note, § 4), and a postulant recommended to her by her great friend Doña Antonia de Brances, who received in religion the name of Beatriz of the Most Holy Sacrament (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxvii. 5).

12. I was there three months, during which I had much to endure, because the princess insisted on certain things unbecoming our order ;<sup>14</sup> and so, rather than consent to them, I made up my mind to go away without making the foundation ; but the prince Ruy Gomez, in his good-nature, which is very great, listened to reason, and pacified his wife, and I accepted some of her conditions ; for I was more anxious for the foundation of the monastery of the friars than for that of the nuns, seeing how important that was, as I saw afterwards.

13. At this time Mariano and his companion arrived—the hermits spoken of before—with the licence of the provincial. The prince and princess consented to grant the hermitage they had given him to the barefooted friars, while I sent for the father Fray Antonio of Jesus, who

<sup>14</sup> The princess had brought with her from Madrid an Augustinian nun belonging to a house of her order in Segovia, Doña Catalina Machuca, who was to lay aside her own habit, and enter the new foundation as a Carmelite in Pastrana. The impetuous princess insisted on its being done at once, and would not listen to the objections of the Saint. To soothe the irritation caused by the refusal, the Saint laid the matter before Fray Dominic Bañes, who approved the act of S. Teresa. The princess at last gave way, and the new house was spared the difficulty of training a nun who had either learned the spirit of another order or was incapable of such training. The princess wished the monastery to be unendowed, but the Saint would not hear of it, for she knew that the place was poor, and that the people, supposing that a great personage like the princess of Eboli had taken care of the temporal necessities of the house she had founded, would therefore suffer the nuns to perish of want. The generosity of the princess was not to be relied on. At this time the princess of Eboli found out that the Saint had written her *Life*, and insisted on reading it. The Saint for a long time withheld it, but at last yielded to the importunities of Ruy Gomez, who came to his wife's aid. The princess ridiculed the book ; left it for her servant to read ; and these, following her example, divulged its contents, and raised an outcry against the Saint. It was this conduct of the princess that led the Inquisition to demand the book (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxviii. 5—7). See also *Relation*, vii. 17.

was the first, from Mancera, where he was at that time, that he might begin the foundation of the monastery. I prepared their habits and mantles for them, and did all I could to enable them to take the habit at once. I had sent at this time for more nuns—for I had brought but two with me<sup>15</sup>—to the monastery in Medina del Campo. There was a father living there, then in years—not very old, however, still not young—but he was a great preacher, by name Fray Baltasar de Jesus,<sup>16</sup> who, when he

<sup>15</sup> The Saint had only two nuns with her at this time (see note <sup>4</sup>, § 4), and so she sent to Medina for Isabel of S. Jerome and Anne of Jesus, who had both taken the habit there. In addition to these there came another nun, Jeronyma of S. Augustine (Gutierrez), from her old monastery of the Incarnation, Avila (*Ribera*, bk. II. ch. xv).

<sup>16</sup> Baltasar Nieto, born at Zafra, in Estremadura, belonged originally to the Order of Minims, but joined the Carmelites about 1563, having obtained a Papal brief which enabled him to make his solemn profession without having completed a year's novitiate. He and another friar having expressed a desire to go to the West Indies, Rubeo, who was then Vicar-General, charged the provincial to assign him in the meantime conventuality in one of the monasteries of Andalucia and to enable him to proceed to the new world as soon as an opportunity should be found. For some reason or other this project could not be realised, but Nieto was successively elected prior in several convents. In August 1565, his brother Melchior Nieto, also Carmelite, had an unseemly scene with a fellow friar at the convent of Ecija, for which he was severely punished. Baltasar helped him to escape from the conventual prison, which fact rendered him liable to undergo the punishment due to Melchior. But Rubeo, who was now General, dealt mercifully with him; he commuted the imprisonment into one year's exile from the province, with loss of privileges, place and voice in chapter, but having regard to Baltasar's ill-health he mitigated this sentence, sending him to the convent of Utrera, with permission to preach, to hear confessions, to go about freely within the precincts of the convent, and once a month to go into the town for a walk or on business. After Easter of the following year (1567) he was to proceed to Castille there to complete the term of his exile. But even this punishment was further relaxed in as much as he was allowed to go to Jaen or Gibrleon. When Easter came he went to Valderas in Castille where he was received, not as a prisoner, but as an honoured guest, his



heard that we were founding the monastery, came with the nuns, intending to become a barefooted friar himself, as indeed he did when he came, and for which I gave praise unto God when he told me of it. He gave the

privileges and rank being restored and many favours shown him. He went to Madrid to meet the General who in the meantime had received fresh complaints against him which he was unable to disprove. Rubeo's patience being now exhausted he commanded the friar to seek within a given time admission into some other Order of equal or greater austerity, failing which he was to be relegated for life to some distant convent, and subjected to rigorous penance. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that he eagerly seized the opportunity of joining the Discalced Carmelites, for by so doing he completely wiped out all previous delinquencies and penalties. He arrived at Pastrana, gave the habit to the two hermits and afterwards took it himself, choosing for his name Baltasar of Jesus. There not being enough religious in that convent to justify its erection as a priory Baltasar, though nominally a novice, was made vicar; after his profession in the following year he was entrusted by the Visitor apostolic (Pedro Fernandez) with the post of Vicar-provincial of the Discalced Carmelites of Castille. In April 1573 the powers of Delegate visitor-apostolic of the Carmelites of Andalucia were granted him, but for the reasons explained in the Introduction he subdelegated Father Jerome Gratian in August of the same year. Later on, however, he turned against this father, going even so far as to bring false evidence against him. He spent the last years of his life at Lisbon and died there in 1589. Great talents (he was a celebrated preacher) and deep piety had been marred by impetuosity and inconsistency, which spoiled what might have been a most brilliant career.

When Rubeo learned that Nieto had joined the Discalced Carmelites at Pastrana he addressed letters patent to 'the Contemplative Carmelites of the province of Castille,' dated Rome, 8th Aug. 1570, the knowledge of which is of the greatest importance for the understanding of the subsequent troubles. He prohibits the 'Discalciati' to receive any of the Calced Carmelites of Spain or Portugal without a written permission from himself; and he formally forbids them to receive those of the province of Andalucia whom he has had occasion to punish, namely Master Ambrose de Castro, formerly prior of Valladolid, Gaspar Nieto, Meichior Nieto, Juan de Mora and their accomplices, 'lest the whole fold of the Contemplatives become corrupted by them, for they have always caused dissensions and quarrels.' Should any Portuguese friars desire to be received and to remain permanently with the Discalced

habit to father Mariano and his companion,<sup>17</sup> but as lay brothers ; for Mariano wished not to be a priest, but to be less than all the rest, nor could I prevail upon him to do otherwise. At a later time he was ordained priest by commandment of the most reverend the father-general.<sup>18</sup>

14. The two monasteries,<sup>19</sup> then, being founded, and the father Fray Antonio of Jesus having arrived, novices began to come in—what they were will be known by

friars no obstacle should be put into their way provided they are not fugitives and have the written permission of their provincial ; and likewise those of the province of Castille may be received with the consent of the provincial, but the latter must exercise discretion in granting it, so as not to leave the existing convents without the necessary number of priests and brothers for the fulfilment of the monastic and ecclesiastical obligations. Any Carmelite who, after having been received by the Discalced fathers, leaves them, shall be perpetually banished from all and any of the Spanish provinces. The Discalced Carmelites are to be subject to the government and visitation of the provincial, and, in case of necessity, may be punished by him, but they may not be taken from their own convents and sent to those of the Calced fathers, no more than any of the latter may be sent to a convent of the former against their will. The priors and socii of the Discalced fathers are to have place and voice both active and passive in the provincial chapters, and to be in every respect on the same footing as the priors and socii of the other convents. The Discalced fathers may found no other houses besides those they already possess, nor may there be more than twenty religious in any of their convents.

<sup>17</sup> The monastery of the friars was founded 9th June 1569, on which day the friars took civil possession of the place ; but as Fray Antonio of Jesus had not then arrived, for whom the Saint intended the honour of making the foundation, the Most Holy Sacrament was not reserved on that day, but on the 13th, which is counted as the true date of the foundation (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxx. 1).

<sup>18</sup> Fray Mariano was ordained priest in Lent, 1574, and was the first master of novices in Seville (*Reforma*, bk. III. ch. xxiv. 1).

<sup>19</sup> The Saint went from Pastrana to Toledo, and sent back from that house, in the carriage in which she had travelled herself, the sister Isabel of S. Dominic, who had made her profession in Avila, to be the prioress of Pastrana (*Ribera*, bk. II. ch. xv). The prioress was charged by the Saint to have a strict account of every thing, small and great, given them by the prince and princess of Eboli, kept in writing, with

what I shall say of some of them further on—and so earnestly to serve our Lord, as any one more able to speak than I am—for I must be short even in what regards the nuns—will tell, if it should so please our Lord. As to the latter, their monastery there was held in great esteem by the prince, and the princess, who was very careful to comfort and treat them well down to the death of the prince Ruy Gomez, when the devil, or perhaps because our Lord permitted it—His Majesty knoweth why—sent the princess here as a nun, in the tumult of her grief for her husband's death.<sup>20</sup> In the

the day of the month, and signed by the prioress herself (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxviii. 10). The sub-prioress of Pastrana was the Mother Isabel of S. Paul. Anne of the Angels, prioress of Malagon, was sent to Toledo to fill the place of Isabel of S. Dominic, and her own place was filled by Mary of the Most Holy Sacrament (*Ribera*, bk. II. ch. xv).

<sup>20</sup> Ruy Gomez died in Madrid, 29 July, 1573, attended in his last illness by Father Mariano and Fray Baltasar of Jesus. The princess, in her unreasonable sorrow, insisted on becoming a Carmelite nun at once, and Mariano weakly yielded to her fury (*Reforma*, bk. III. ch. xxi. 1). She leaves Madrid before her husband is buried, and hastens to Pastrana to enter the monastery. Fray Baltasar of Jesus hurries before her, and at two o'clock in the morning disturbs the nuns with the news that the princess was coming. When the prioress, Isabel of S. Dominic, had heard the story, she replied, 'The princess a nun? the monastery is lost.' The prioress called up the nuns, and with them made what preparations they could for the reception of their benefactress. About eight o'clock in the morning the princess arrived with her mother. The nuns gave her another and a cleaner habit, and she insisted on their admitting at the same time two persons as novices she had brought with her. The prioress objected, for such a thing was not to be done without the sanction of the superior, whereupon the new nun cried out, 'What have the friars to do with my monastery?' The novices were received after consulting the prior, but the demands of the princess grew, and at last she insisted on admitting her visitors within the cloister, and on having two maids to wait upon her. The nuns offered to be her servants, but she must have her own way. The prioress had assigned her as foundress a seat next herself in the refectory, and the princess (who took the name Anne of the Mother of God), notwithstanding prayers and entreaties, took the lowest place. At last her self-will exhausted the patience of the prioress, who told her

distress she was in, the observance of enclosure, to which she had never been accustomed, could not be very pleasant for her; and the prioress, because of the holy council,<sup>21</sup> could not give her all the liberty she desired.

15. She became displeased with her, and with all the nuns, so that, even after she laid aside the habit, and while living in her own house, they were still an offence to her. The poor nuns were living in such disquiet that I strove with all my might, imploring the superiors to remove them, that they might come to Segovia, where I was then founding a monastery, as I shall mention further on.<sup>22</sup> Thither they came, leaving behind all that the princess had given them, but bringing with them certain nuns whom the princess had ordered them to admit without any dowry. The beds and trifling things which the sisters themselves had taken with them they brought away, leaving the inhabitants there exceedingly sorry.<sup>23</sup> I had

that if she did not suffer them to keep the rule Mother Teresa would remove them from Pastrana. Thereupon she left the house, and retired into one of the hermitages in the garden, had a door made in the wall, and admitted all her friends to see her in a nun's dress, doing her own will. At last she left the monastery, but she also left it to struggle with poverty, for the alms promised by her husband and herself were withheld (*Ib.* bk. III. ch. xxviii. 2—5).

<sup>21</sup> *Conc. Trid.*, sess. xxv. cap. 5.

<sup>22</sup> See ch. xxi.

<sup>23</sup> The Saint, when she found that it was no longer possible to preserve the house of Pastrana, consulted the provincial, Fray Angel de Salazar, Fray Pedro Fernandez, Fray Dominic Bañes, and Fray Hernando del Castillo. They all agreed in the removal of the nuns if no change could be wrought in the temper of the princess. Fray Hernando was sent to see her—he had been a friend of her husband—but she refused to see him, feigning illness. The prioress, being told to prepare everything for the departure of the nuns, sent for the corregidor, who came with a notary, who recorded the transaction. The prioress, provided with her accounts, delivered up everything received from the princess into the charge of the corregidor, who accepted the trust, and gave her a formal receipt for the same. The princess now became uneasy and wished the nuns to stay, but the last mass had been said, and

the greatest joy in the world when I saw them in peace, for I knew very well that they were blameless as to the offence which the princess took—far from it, for they treated her, during the time she wore the habit, with as much respect as they did before she had put it on. The cause of it all was that which I mentioned just now, and the distress the princess was in, but a servant whom she had brought with her was, I believe, to blame for it all. In a word, our Lord, who permitted this, must have seen that the monastery was not rightly placed there; His judgments are high, and surpass the understanding of us all. I could not have been so bold as to do what I did relying on my own understanding, but I was guided by the advice of saintly and learned men.

the Most Holy Sacrament consumed, so the prioress answered it was too late. The princess then begged them to take with them the two nuns who had been in her service; they said they would readily take one of them, Anne of the Incarnation; as for the other, the princess might provide for her as she pleased. They left Pastrana at midnight, according to Yepes, and, under the care of Julian of Avila, Antonio Gaytan, and Fray Gabriel of the Assumption, arrived in Segovia in the holy week of 1574. They were once in danger of death on the road, and the Saint, at the moment in Segovia, said to her nuns, Let us pray for those who are coming from Pastrana. The bishop of Segorbe followed them to Segovia with a message from the princess asking the Saint to take also the sister whom they had left behind; she declined, because the monastery was already full. He then threatened them with an action at law for the recovery of what the princess had given them in Pastrana, whereupon the receipt of the corregidor was produced and the bishop said no more (*Reforma*, bk. III. ch. xxviii. 7, 8). The chronicler says the Saint received but one of the nuns thrust on the monastery by the princess; perhaps the Saint may have relented later, and accepted her after she had been left behind at Pastrana, and, to hide her generosity, spoke of her as having arrived with her sisters. Anne of the Incarnation made her profession in Segovia on the feast of SS. Simon and Jude, 1574, and was in the monastery of Caravaca in 1581 (*Fuente*, vi. 79).



## CHAPTER XVIII

OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY OF S. JOSEPH AT SALAMANCA, IN THE YEAR 1570. TREATS OF SOME IMPORTANT COUNSELS FOR PRIORESSES

1. The Saint is invited to Salamanca.—2. Hires a house.—3. Leaves Avila for Salamanca.—4. Laboriousness of the Saint.—5. Increased joy of the nuns.—6. Strictness of the Carmelite rule.—7. Indiscreet zeal of prioresses.—8. Discretion necessary.—9. Spiritual and intellectual gifts.—10. Nuns not to be driven towards perfection.—11. Imperfections to be borne with.—12. The prioresses to be cautious in tasking the obedience of the nuns.—13. Simple obedience of a nun.—14. Another instance.

I. WHEN these two foundations<sup>1</sup> had been made, I returned to the city of Toledo,<sup>2</sup> where I rested for some months till the purchase of the house spoken of before<sup>3</sup> was made, and everything had been settled. While I was thus occupied a rector<sup>4</sup> of the Society of Jesus in Salamanca wrote to me to say that a monastery of our order would be most useful there, at the same time giving me reasons for thinking so. I had been hitherto kept back from

<sup>1</sup> Those of the nuns and of the friars (*Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. xlv. 4).

<sup>2</sup> The Saint returned to Toledo 21st July, and remained there, with slight interruptions, more than a year.

<sup>3</sup> See note to ch. xv. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Martin Gutierrez was the confessor of the Saint's biographer, Francis Ribera, while the latter still lived as a secular, and was the means of winning him for the society. The provincial congregation of Burgos in 1573, when the news arrived in Spain of the death of the general, S. Francis Borja, sent Gutierrez and Juan Suarez to Rome with the provincial Gil Gonzalez. They were taken prisoners in France by the Hugenots, and most cruelly treated. Gutierrez was wounded and died of the wound: the others were released after paying money for their lives (*Life of F. Baltasar Alvarez*). He was born in Almodovar 1524, and entered the society in 1550.

founding a house in poverty there, because the place was very poor.<sup>5</sup> But, considering that Avila is quite as poor, and that God never abandons, nor ever will, I believe, abandon any one who serves Him, I determined to make the foundation, making such reasonable arrangements as I could, having but a few nuns, and they helping themselves by the labour of their hands. Going, then, from Toledo to Avila, I applied from that place for the permission of the bishop,<sup>6</sup> and obtained it; the bishop was very gracious, for, as the father rector showed him what the order is, and that the monastery would be for the service of God, he gave his permission at once.

2. I thought myself, when I had the permission of the ordinary, that the monastery was already founded, so easy was everything to do. And so I contrived at once to hire<sup>7</sup> a house, which a lady I knew told me of. It was a difficult matter, because it was not a season for letting houses, and because it was then in the possession of certain students, who were persuaded to give it up whenever the persons came who were to live in it. They knew nothing of the purpose for which it had been hired, for I took the very greatest care of that; nothing was to be known till after taking possession, because I have some experience now of what the devil does to embarrass one of these monasteries. Though God did

<sup>5</sup> The inhabitants of Salamanca supported themselves chiefly by providing board and lodging for the students—some say over ten thousand—who were often in arrears with their payments.

<sup>6</sup> The bishop of Salamanca at this time was Don Pedro González de Mendoza, son of the duke of Infantado, consecrated in 1560; he was bishop fourteen years, and was one of the prelates who had been in the Council of Trent. S. Teresa, at the moment of writing did not remember his name, but left a blank which she never filled up.

<sup>7</sup> The house belonged to Gonçalíñez de Ovalle (*Repes*, ii. 23).

not suffer him to molest this at the first, because He would have it founded, yet afterwards the trouble and the opposition we met with were so great that everything is not, even now while I am writing, quite got over, notwithstanding that it has been founded for some years ; and so I believe that God is greatly pleased with it, seeing that Satan cannot endure it.

3. Then, with the licence of the bishop and the house secured, relying on the mercy of God—for there was nobody there who could give me any help at all in supplying the many things that were necessary for the furnishing of that house—I set out for the place, taking with me only one nun,<sup>8</sup> for greater secrecy. I found it better to do so than to take the nuns till I had taken possession, for I had received a lesson by what took place in Medina del Campo, when I found myself there in great straits. Now, if any difficulties arose, I should bear them by myself, with only one nun, whom I could not travel without. We arrived on the eve of All Saints, having travelled a great part of the night before in the excessive cold, and slept in one place, being myself very unwell.

4. In giving an account of these foundations I do not

<sup>8</sup> In the latter end of October. Her companion was Mary of the Blessed Sacrament, (Mary Suarez), born at Segovia, and professed at the convent of the Incarnation at Avila. She had accompanied S. Teresa to Malagon in 1568 where she was for a time prioress. She remained at Salamanca a few months, the holy foundress taking her in January 1571 to Alba de Tormes where she became sub-prioress. There she renounced the mitigated rule, 21st December 1572, and was afterwards elected prioress. So mortified was she that she only allowed herself one hour's sleep each night. Towards the end of her life she suffered severely from an ulcer in her leg which necessitated amputation. She died at an advanced age in 1589 ; at the moment of her death one of the nuns saw her soul carried to heaven by angels. *Oeuvres*, III. 306.

speak of the great hardships of travelling in cold, heat, and snow. Once it snowed the whole day long, at other times we missed our road, and again I had sicknesses and fever ; for, glory be to God, my health is generally weak, but I saw clearly that our Lord was giving me strength. It has happened to me from time to time, while occupied in these foundations, to find myself amidst such pains and sufferings as distressed me much, for it seemed to me if I were then even in my cell, I could have done nothing but lie down on my bed, turn to our Lord, complaining to His Majesty, and asking Him how it was that He would have me do what was beyond my power. His Majesty would then give me strength, not without suffering however, and in the fervour and earnestness with which He filled me I seemed to have forgotten myself. So far as I remember at present I never refrained from making a foundation through fear of trouble, though I felt a great dislike to journeys, especially long ones ; but when I had once started I thought nothing of them, looking to Him in whose service they were undertaken, and calling to mind that our Lord would be praised, and that the Most Holy Sacrament would dwell, in the house I was going to found. \ It is a special joy to me to see one church more, when I consider how many the Lutherans are destroying. I know of no trouble, however great it may be, that should be dreaded when it is the condition of obtaining so great a good for Christendom ; and it should be a great consolation to us—though many among us do not think of it—that Jesus Christ, true God and true man, dwells, as He does, in so many places in the Most Holy Sacrament.

5. Certainly, as for myself, I have a great consolation frequently in choir when I behold these souls, so pure,

intent on the praises of God, nor does it fail me on many other occasions, for it is a joy to me to see their obedience and happiness, which so strict an enclosure and solitude supply them, and their cheerfulness when they have any opportunity of mortifying themselves. Whenever the prioress is enabled by a greater grace from our Lord to try them herein, there I see the greater happiness; and the prioress then is more wearied of trying them than they are of obeying, for their desires are never satisfied herein.

6. Though I may be wandering from the story of the foundation which I had begun to describe, certain considerations now suggest themselves to me on the subject of mortification, and perhaps, my children, they will be of service to the prioress; so, lest I should forget, I will now tell them. As the prioresses have different gifts and virtues, so they wish to direct their nuns accordingly. She who is most mortified will look upon everything she may order for the purpose of subduing the will as easy to do: it may be so for her, and yet perhaps it may be very hard to obey. This is what we have seriously to consider: we are not to command others to do what seems very hard to ourselves. Discretion is a great thing in government, and exceedingly necessary in these houses—I am going to say much more necessary than in others—because the prioresses here have to watch more carefully over the interior state and the outward demeanour of their subjects. Other prioresses of much spirituality would be glad if all were given to prayer. In a word, our Lord leads souls onwards by different roads; the prioresses, however, must consider that they have not been appointed to guide souls by the road which they like themselves, but rather to direct their subjects according to the rule



and constitutions, even if they have to do violence to themselves herein, and prefer another way.

7. I was once in a monastery of ours with a prioress for whom penance had a great attraction.<sup>9</sup> She directed all the sisters by that way. At one time the whole community took the discipline, reciting the seven penitential psalms with the prayers, and had other observances of the same kind. The same thing happens if the prioress be given to prayer: she occupies the community therein, though it be not the time for prayer, even after matins, when it would be much better if all the nuns went to sleep. If, again, she is given to mortification, there is to be no rest anywhere, and those poor flocks of the Virgin are silent like lambs. All this, certainly, is to me a source of shame and devotion, and at times a strong temptation, for the sisters, all absorbed in God, do not perceive it, but I fear for their health, and would rather they kept the rule, for that gives them enough to do, and whatever is beside that should be done with gentleness. This matter of mortification especially is of great importance, and I would have the prioresses, for the love of our Lord, look into it; for in these houses it is a very important thing to have discretion and to understand dispositions, and if herein they are not very observant they will do great harm instead of good, and make the sisters uneasy.

8. They must consider that mortification of this kind is not of obligation: that is the first thing they have to look to. Though it is most necessary to enable souls to

<sup>9</sup> This was probably Mother Jane of the Holy Ghost (Doña Juana Guiera), nun of the Incarnation at Avila, and afterwards (1571) prioress of Alba de Tormes. S. Teresa speaks severely of her indiscreet mortifications in a letter dated 27th September 1572.

attain to liberty and high perfection, that is not gained in a moment, and they must therefore help every one onwards according to the intellectual and spiritual gifts which God has given them. You may think that understanding is not necessary for this : that is a mistake, for there are some who must labour much before they can arrive at the knowledge of perfection and of the spirit of our rule, and afterwards, perhaps, these very persons will be the most saintly ; they may not know when it is safe to excuse themselves, nor when it is not, and they may be ignorant of other minute observances which, when they shall have understood them, they will keep perhaps with ease, and which they never thoroughly understand, nor—which is worse—look upon as matters appertaining unto perfection.

9. In one of our monasteries is a sister who, so far as I can see, is one of the greatest servants of God there—great in spirituality, in the graces His Majesty bestows upon her, and in penance and humility—but she does not understand certain things in the constitutions ; the mentioning of the faults of others in chapter she considers to be a want of charity, and says that when she has to tell anything of the sisters, or anything of that kind, she may be speaking against a sister who may be a great servant of God ; and yet in other ways I see that she far surpasses those who understand the constitutions well. The prioress must not think that she sees into souls at once : let her leave this with God, who alone can see into them ; but let her labour to guide each soul by the way His Majesty is guiding it, always supposing that there is no failure of obedience, or in the more essential points of the rule and constitutions. She who, among the eleven thousand virgins, went and hid herself, was

not the less a saint and martyr : on the contrary, perhaps she suffered more than the others in coming afterwards alone to offer herself for martyrdom.<sup>10</sup>

10. I return now to the subject of mortification. A prioress, to mortify a sister, bids her do something which, though in itself a trifle, is yet a burden to the nun. When it is done the sister is so disturbed and tempted that it would have been better if such a command had not been given her. The moment this becomes evident the prioress should consider that she cannot make her perfect by a strong arm, but should rather dissemble, and proceed by degrees till our Lord shall have done this work in her, lest what is done for the purpose of bringing her on—for without this particular form of perfection she might be a very good nun—should be an occasion of disquiet to her, and an affliction of spirit, which is a most dreadful thing. If that nun sees the others doing these things she too by degrees will do them ; we have found it so ; and if she should not she may be saved without this virtue.

11. I know one of this kind, whose whole life has been most virtuously spent, who for many years and in many ways has served our Lord, but who has some imperfections and certain feelings at times over which she has no control ; she is aware of it, and comes to me in her distress. God, I think, lets her fall into these imperfections without sin on her part—there is no sin in them—that she may humble herself, and see thereby that

<sup>10</sup> Quædam autem virgo, nomine Cordula, timore perterrita, in navi nocte illa se abscondit, sed in crastinum sponte morti se offerens, martyrii coronam suscepit. Sed cum ejus festum non fieret, eo quod cum aliis passa non esset, ipsa post longum tempus cuidam reclusæ apparuit, præcipiens ut sequente die a festo virginum quotannis solemnitatis recoleretur (*Jacobus a Voragine, in festo undecim mille Virginum*).

she is not altogether perfect. Some, then, there are who will undergo great mortifications—and the greater the mortifications enjoined the greater will be their pleasure therein—because our Lord has endowed their souls with strength to give up their own will; others will not be able to endure even slight ones, and they are as a child loaded with two bushels (*fanegas*) of corn, who not only cannot carry them, but breaks down under the burden and falls to the ground. Forgive me, then, my daughters—I am speaking to the prioresses—for that which I have observed in some has made me dwell so long upon this.

12. I have another caution to give, and it is very important: never command anything, even for the trial of a sister's obedience, which may be to her, if she does it, even a venial sin. I have known some things enjoined which would have been mortal if they had been done: the sisters, however, might perhaps have been safe in their innocence—not so the prioress who never commands anything that is not instantly done. As they hear and read what the saints of the desert did, they look upon every thing enjoined them as good—at least the doing of it. And the subjects also must consider that they are not to do that, even when enjoined them, which would be mortal sin when not enjoined, except absence from mass, or the non-observance of a fast of the church, or actions of that kind, for in these matters the prioress may have her reasons; but to throw oneself into a well and acts of that nature are mistakes, because no one ought to suppose that God will work a miracle, as He did for the saints. There are ways enough to practise perfect obedience, and every way that is free from these dangers I commend.

13. Once a sister in Malagon begged leave to take the

discipline, and the prioress—others must have made the same request—replied, ‘Leave me alone.’ But, as she was importunate, the prioress said, ‘Go along ; leave me alone.’ Thereupon the nun, with great simplicity, walked about for some hours, till one of the sisters asked her why she was walking so much, or said something to that effect. She replied that she had been ordered to do so. Meanwhile the bell rung for matins, and when the prioress asked why that nun had not come the other told her what was going on. It is necessary, as I said before, that the prioresses should be very cautious in dealing with souls whom they already know to be obedient, and consider what they are doing.

14. To another prioress came a nun, and showed her a very large worm, saying, ‘Look how beautiful it is !’ The prioress in jest replied, ‘Then go and eat it.’ She went and fried it. The cook asked her why she fried a worm, and she answered, ‘To eat it,’ and would have done so. Thus through the great carelessness of the prioress that nun might have done herself much harm. I am the more delighted with obedience when carried to an extreme, for I have a particular devotion to this virtue. I have therefore done all I could, that all the sisters might have it ; nevertheless all my efforts would have been little worth if our Lord had not, in the excesses of His compassion, given them the grace, all of them, to feel a special attraction for it. May it please His Majesty to increase it more and more ! Amen.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Although it is not certain which convent and which prioress the Saint had in view there is reason to think she alluded to Toledo or Malagon where indiscreet mortifications were being freely practised ; she herself tells (ch. xvi. 3) how she had to watch over what the prioress of Toledo said to the nuns for they took chance remarks as if they were commands. At a somewhat later period S. Teresa wrote to Mary of



## CHAPTER XIX

CONTINUATION OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY OF  
S. JOSEPH IN THE CITY OF SALAMANCA

1. The Saint recommends learned confessors.—2. Nicholas Gutierrez.—  
3. The Saint takes possession.—4. Poverty of the house at first.—  
5. Terrors of Sister Mary.—6. The house is not healthy.—7. The  
Saint returns to Salamanca in August 1573.—8. And takes possession  
of the new monastery.—9. Troubles with the owner of the  
house.—10. Who cannot come to any terms.

I. I HAVE wandered far away from the subject, for, whenever anything occurs to me which it pleased our Lord I should learn by experience, it is distressing not to speak of it ; it may be that it will do good, as I think it will. Do you, my daughters, go always for direction to learned men, for thereby shall you find the way of perfection in discretion and truth. It is very necessary for prioresses, if they would execute their office well, to have learned men for their confessors—if not they will do many foolish things, thinking them to be saintly ; and, moreover, they must contrive that their nuns go to confession to learned men.

S. Joseph, prioress of Seville : ‘Lest I forget it I must tell you that I have heard what kind of mortifications are being practised at Malagon. The Mother prioress orders one of the nuns to go when least expected to give a blow to some sister ; this invention comes from Toledo. Evidently the devil, under pretext of perfection, teaches to lead souls to commit an offence against God. You must never command any such thing, nor allow the sisters to pinch each other ; as they do at Malagon from what I hear. In one word do not guide your daughters with such rigour as you have seen in this convent (Toledo), for they are not slaves, and the only purpose of mortification is to procure the advancement of the soul. I assure you, my child, it is necessary to keep a vigilant eye on these childish prioresses who follow every whim of their fancy, for things have come to my knowledge which cause me great pain’ (11th Nov. 1576).

2. About noon, then, on the eve of All Saints, in the year already mentioned, we came to Salamanca.<sup>1</sup> From my lodging I sent for a good man living there, whom I had trusted with the work of getting the house emptied for us. His name is Nicholas Gutierrez,<sup>2</sup> a great servant of God, who by his good life had obtained from His Majesty peace and contentment amid his heavy trials—and they were many, for he was once very prosperous, but was at this time in great poverty, which he bore as joyfully as he had borne his prosperity. He laboured much with great devotion and goodwill in the making of this foundation. When he came he told me that the house was not yet empty, for he had not been able to persuade the students<sup>3</sup> to go out. I told him how much it concerned me to have possession of it at once, before it was known that I was in the town; for I was always afraid of some disturbance, as I said before.<sup>4</sup> He went to the owner of the house, and took so much trouble in the matter that the house was left empty in the evening. We went in when it was nearly dark.

3. This was the first foundation I made without the presence of the Most Holy Sacrament, for I did not think that I took possession if He was not lodged in the house. I had now learnt that it made no difference, which was a great comfort to me, because the students had left

<sup>1</sup> In the year 1570. See ch. xviii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> His six daughters by Ana de la Fuente his wife became nuns at the Incarnation and afterwards Teresians. *Oeuvres*, iii. 250-2.

<sup>3</sup> One of these students was Don Juan Moriz, afterwards Bishop of Barbastro (*De la Fuente*). The house is situated on the Plaza de Santa Teresa and belongs now to a religious community called Servants of S. Joseph for the education of poor girls. The room where S. Teresa slept is at present a chapel. There also took place the event described in *Rel.* iv. 1, and *Interior Castle*, vi M. ch. xi. 6.

<sup>4</sup> See ch. xviii. 2.

the house in a very unseemly state, and, as they had but little regard for cleanliness, the whole place was in such a condition that we had no slight work to do that night.

4. Early the next morning mass was said there for the first time, and I sent for more nuns,<sup>5</sup> who were to come from Medina del Campo. My companion and I were alone the night of All Souls. I have to tell you one thing, my sisters, at which I am ready to laugh when I remember it—the fears of my companion, Mary of the Blessed Sacrament, a nun older than myself, and a great servant of God. The house was very large and rambling, with many garrets, and my companion could not get the students out of her thoughts, thinking that, as they were so annoyed at having to quit the house, some of them might be still hiding in it: they could very easily do so, for there was room enough. We shut ourselves up in a room wherein the straw was placed, that being the first thing I provided for the founding of the house, for with the straw we could not fail to have a bed. That night we slept on it, covered by two blankets that had been lent us.<sup>6</sup> The next day the nuns who lived close by, and who, we thought, were not at all pleased with us, lent us blankets for our sisters that were to come, and sent us alms. It was the monastery of S. Elizabeth, and all the time we remained in that house they rendered us many kind services and gave us alms.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Anne of the Incarnation, Mary of Christ, Jeronyma of Jesus came from Medina; from Avila came Anne of Jesus and Juana of Jesus, and from Toledo Mary of S. Francis, novice. Anne of the Incarnation was made prioress, and Mary of Christ sub-prioress (*Ribera*, ii. 16).

<sup>6</sup> By the fathers of the Society of Jesus (*Ribera*, ii. 16).

<sup>7</sup> The nuns sent food to the Saint the very day she came, and continued to do so (*Xepes*, ii. 23). They were nuns of the third order of S. Francis, and the house was suppressed in 1857.

5. When my companion saw herself shut up in the room she seemed somewhat at her ease about the students, though she did nothing but look about her, first on this side and then on the other ; still she was afraid, and Satan must have helped her to imagine dangers for the purpose of troubling me, for, owing to the weakness of the heart from which I suffer, very little is enough to do it. I asked her why she was looking about, seeing that nobody could possibly come in. She replied, ‘Mother, I am thinking, if I were to die now, what you would do alone.’ I thought it would be a very disagreeable thing if it happened. It made me dwell on it for a moment, and even to be afraid, for, though I am not afraid of dead bodies, they always cause a certain faintness of the heart even when I am not alone. And as the bells were tolling—it was, as I said before, the eve of All Souls—the devil took advantage of that to make us waste our thoughts upon trifles ; when he sees we are not afraid of him he searches for other means. I answered her, ‘Sister, when that shall happen I will consider what I shall do ; now let me go to sleep.’ As we had spent two nights without rest, sleep soon put an end to our fears. More nuns came on the following day, and then all our terrors were over.

6. The community remained in the same house about three years—I am not sure it was not four—almost unheeded. But I was ordered to go to the monastery of the Incarnation in Avila,<sup>8</sup> for of my own will I would never

<sup>8</sup> After making the foundation in Alba de Tormes, in January 1571, the Saint returned to Salamanca, where she was still at the end of March. From Salamanca she went to Medina del Campo, where the nuns were in trouble because the family of Isabel of the Angels, one of the novices, young and wealthy, made objections to her disposal of her property. Fray Angel de Salazar, provincial of Carmel, was on the side

leave a house, nor did I leave any, till it was properly ordered and arranged, for herein God has been very gracious unto me : it is a joy to me to be the foremost in trouble, and I used to provide, even to the minutest matters, whatever might be of use and comfort to the nuns, as if I had to live in that house all my life, and accordingly I was glad when the sisters were happily settled. I was very sorry for the sufferings of the nuns here—not, however, arising from the want of food, for the house being very much out of the way, and therefore

of the family against the monastery, and the Saint on the other ; the provincial thereupon forgot himself being also vexed because the Saint and the nuns made Agnes of Jesus prioress, whereas he had wished Doña Teresa de Quesada, who was a nun of the old observance, to be the superior of the community, and, under pain of excommunication, ordered the Saint and the prioress to quit the house before night. The Saint, though very ill, obeyed, and the provincial made Doña Teresa prioress, who had never accepted the Reform. The Saint went to Avila, and was there visited by Fray Pedro Fernandez, Dominican, lately made visitor of Carmel in Castille by Pope S. Pius V. He wished to see her because he had heard so much about her from Fray Dominic Bañez. The visitor sent her back from Avila to Medina, where the monastery was in disorder—Doña Teresa having left and returned to her own house of the Incarnation in Avila—and followed her thither soon after himself. Having visited that house, S. Teresa being prioress, he returned to Avila, and visited that of the Incarnation, which was in a sad state spiritually and temporally. After consultation with the provincial and the definitors of Carmel he made S. Teresa prioress of her old home, the Incarnation, she being at the time prioress in Medina. The Saint was most unwilling to accept the office (which seems to have been laid upon her early in July, according to her account in *Relation*, iii. 11) ; but, nevertheless, she entered on it, and was duly installed by the visitor, the nuns being most unwilling to receive her (in October 1571, as appears from ch. xxi. 8). Before she entered on her duties she formally renounced, in the house of S. Joseph, Avila, the mitigated observance, and made profession of the strict rule, the observance of which she was labouring to restore. When she had taken possession of the priorate she begged the visitor to give her two confessors of the Reform for the house, and Fray Pedro sent S. John of the Cross and Fray German of S. Mathias (*Ribera*, iii. 1 ; *Voces*, ii. 25 ; *Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. xlviii, xlix ; bk. iv. ch. xxvii. 2).



not likely to receive much alms, I took care to provide for it from the place where I was staying, but from its unhealthiness, it being damp and excessively cold, and that could not be helped because of its great size. But the worst of all was the absence of the Most Holy Sacrament, which in a house so strictly enclosed was a serious privation. They did not take it too much to heart, but bore it all so contentedly that I cannot but praise our Lord for it; and some of them told me that they considered it an imperfection to wish for another house, and would have been well pleased to remain there if they could have had the Most Holy Sacrament.

7. Afterwards the superior,<sup>9</sup> seeing their perfection and the troubles they had to bear, had compassion on them, and sent for me from the monastery of the Incarnation.<sup>10</sup> They had already arranged with a nobleman<sup>11</sup> to take a house of him, but it was in such a state as to make it necessary to spend more than a thousand ducats on it before they could go into it: the house was an entail, and the owner agreed that we might enter into possession of it, and also raise the walls, though the king's licence was not had. I got Father Julian of Avila to accompany me—he it is whom I have spoken of as going with me in these foundations—he went with me, and we looked at the house that we might be able to say what should be done to it, for experience has taught me much in these

<sup>9</sup> Fray Pedro Fernández, Dominican, and Apostolic visitor of the Carmelite province of Castille. See below ch. xxi. 1.

<sup>10</sup> It was Anne of Jesus who obtained permission from the visitor for the Saint to leave the monastery of the Incarnation, where she had been prioress for the last two years nearly (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xx. 1). The journey took place at the instigation of Doña Maria Enriquez, duchess of Alba.

<sup>11</sup> Pedro de la Vanda, caballero calificado, aunque no muy rico y de condicion indigesta (*Reforma*, bk. III. ch. xx. 1).

matters. We set out in August,<sup>12</sup> and though we made all possible haste, we were delayed till Michaelmas, which is the time of letting houses there : our house was far from being finished, and that in which we were then living, as we had not hired it for another year, had already found a tenant, and he was hurrying us out of it. The white-washing of the church was nearly done. The nobleman who had sold us the house was away : some people who wished us well said we had done wrong in going in so soon ; but where necessity drives good advice is ill received if no help is given with it.<sup>13</sup>

8. We went in on the vigil of S. Michael, a little before dawn. It had been already made known that on the feast of S. Michael the Most Holy Sacrament was to take up His dwelling there, and that a sermon was to be preached. It was our Lord's pleasure that on the eve of our going in so heavy a rain should fall as to make it difficult to take what was most necessary for us into the house. The chapel was newly built, but the roof was so badly made that the rain came through the greater part of it. I tell you, my daughters, that I found I was very imperfect that day. As notice had been given, I knew not what to do ; I did nothing but bewail myself, and so, as if complaining, I said to our Lord that He must either not bid me to apply myself to these foundations or relieve us in our present necessity. The good man Nicholas

<sup>12</sup> The journey was made for the most part by night, because of the great heat ; and Fray Antonio of Jesus and Julian of Avila accompanied the Saint, who had with her Doña Quiteria de Avila, a nun of the Incarnation (*Ribera*, ii. 16).

<sup>13</sup> The royal licence for the alienation of the house was obtained, but in August 1573, the Saint had not been able to settle with Pedro de la Vanda. She complains of him again in a letter of January 1574 addressed to Father Dominic Bañez.

Gutierrez, with his usual calmness, as if nothing was amiss, told me very gently not to distress myself—God would send help. So He did, for on the feast of S. Michael, when it was time for the people to come, the sun began to shine—which stirred up my devotion exceedingly—and I saw how much better that holy man had done by trusting in God than I had done with all my labour.<sup>14</sup>

9. Many people came, and we had music, and the Most Holy Sacrament was brought in with great solemnity. As the house was in a good position, it began to be known and regarded with respect; the countess of

<sup>14</sup> This incident is told somewhat differently in the life of Ven. Anne of Jesus. The translation was fixed on the feast of S. Michael, Fray Diego de Estella, Franciscan, a celebrated preacher, having been engaged and an immense number of people looking forward to the ceremony, when, on the eve, torrential rains burst over the town; the chapel was far from finished, the roof having been made so badly that there were holes through which the rain entered flooding the whole sanctuary. It was eight o'clock in the evening; S. Teresa was engaged in the porch with Father Julian Davila and the chaplain of the convent of Alba, the Licentiate Nieto. In her heart she said to our Lord: 'My adorable master, either do not command me such undertakings, or come to our help in our present need.' The workmen, too, were deliberating as to the course to be taken for it was clearly out of question to continue the work. At this moment, Ven. Anne, with two other nuns, approached the Saint and said in a decided tone: 'Your Reverence knows what time it is, and how many people are coming to-morrow; could you not ask God to stop this rain so that we may prepare the altars?' Saint Teresa replied in the same tone: 'Ask Him yourself if you think He would do it so speedily at my request.' Seeing she was annoyed Anne withdrew but had hardly reached the courtyard when, looking up, she saw the sky so clear and bright as if it had never been raining. She at once returned and said to the Saint before the same witnesses: 'Your Reverence might very well have asked this favour a little sooner'; and, to the visitors: 'Leave us alone that we may get the chapel ready.' Saint Teresa looked at her smilingly and went to her room. Bertholde-Ignace de Sainte Anne, *Vie de la Mère Anne de Jésus*, (Mechlin, 1876), I. 104. *Oeuvres*, III. 561.

Monterey,<sup>15</sup> Doña Maria Pimentel, in particular, and a lady, Doña Mariana, the wife of the governor, were very kind to us. Immediately afterwards, on the next day, to moderate our joy in the possession of the Most Holy Sacrament, came the nobleman, the owner of the house, so exceedingly out of temper that I did not know what to do with him, and Satan urged him so that he would not listen to reason : we, however, had fulfilled our bargain with him, but it was useless to tell him so. He softened a little when some people spoke to him, but he afterwards changed his mind. I now resolved to give up the house ; that did not please Him, because he wanted to have the price of it at once. His wife—the house belonged to her—had wished to sell it, that she might dower her two daughters ; and it was on that ground the licence for alienation was sought, the money being deposited in the hands of a person chosen by him.

10. It is now three years since this affair was begun, and the purchase is not yet made, and I do not know

<sup>15</sup> Within two months of the foundation of the house in Salamanca the Saint was called to establish another in Alba, as recorded in the next chapter. In February or March, 1571, she returned to Salamanca to console her sisters who were in distress. The count and countess of Monterey had obtained permission of her superiors, if she came to Salamanca, to have her in their house. She was therefore lodged with them, and while there two miracles were wrought by her ; the first was the cure of Doña Maria de Artiega, whose husband had the care of the count's children ; and the other was the restoration to health of the count's little daughter, whose life was despaired of. They begged the Saint to pray, and she, withdrawing to her own room, prayed for the child. S. Catherine of Siena and S. Dominic appeared to her, and told her the child's life was granted to her prayers, and that it was to wear the habit of S. Dominic for a year. The Saint made the vision known to Fray Bañez, who communicated it to the father and mother. The child was clothed in the habit of S. Dominic and wore it for a year. She was afterwards married to the count of Olivares, and was the mother of the duke of San Lucar (*Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. xlvi. 2).

whether the monastery will remain here—I mean in this house—that is why I speak of it—or where it shall be settled.<sup>16</sup> What I do know is this—in none of the monasteries of the primitive rule which our Lord has hitherto founded have the nuns had so much to suffer as in this. They are so good that, by the mercy of God, they bear it all with joy. May it please His Majesty that they may grow still better ! for it is of little consequence whether the house we have is good or bad : on the contrary, it is a great pleasure to us to find ourselves in a house out of which we may be driven at any time, remembering that the Lord of the world had none.<sup>17</sup> It has been often our lot, as may be seen in the history of these foundations, to live in a house that is, or was, not our own, and the truth is that I have never seen one of the nuns distressed about it. May it please His Divine Majesty, of His infinite goodness and mercy, that we fail not to reach the everlasting dwelling-places ! Amen, amen.

<sup>16</sup> After the death of the Saint, the nuns were obliged to leave the house owing to the difficult temper of Don Pedro. After a short sojourn in another house they retired to the hospice of the Rosary, close to the Dominican Convent of San Esteban, (*Recop.*, ii. 23). They left it in the year 1614, and settled outside the Villamayor Gate (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xxiii. 3). The house was almost ruined by the Portuguese during the war of succession, but was rebuilt and still serves as a convent.

<sup>17</sup> S. Luke ix. 58. *Filius autem hominis non habet ubi caput reclinet.*



## CHAPTER XX

ON THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY OF OUR LADY OF THE ANNUNCIATION, AT ALBA DE TORMES, IN THE YEAR 1571

1.—Alba de Tormes.—2. Birth of Teresa de Layz.—3. Blindness of parents.—4. Miraculous speech of the infant.—5. Piety of Teresa de Layz.—6. She removes to Salamanca.—7. Prays for children.—8. The foundation of a monastery resolved on.—9. Returns to Alba de Tormes.—10. Difficulties suggested.—11. And miraculously removed.—12. Teresa de Layz goes to the Saint.—13. Why some omissions are made.

1. Two months had not passed since I took possession, on all Souls' Day,<sup>1</sup> of the house in Salamanca, when I was urged, on the part of the steward of the duke of Alba and his wife,<sup>2</sup> to found a monastery in that town. I was not very willing to do so, for it would be necessary, because it was a small place, to have an endowment, and my inclination was never to have any. The father master, Fray Domingo Bañez, my confessor, of whom I spoke in the beginning of the history of these foundations, being then in Salamanca, rebuked me, and said that, as the council<sup>3</sup> allowed endowments, it would not be well if I refrained from founding a monastery for that reason—that I did not understand the matter, for an endowment need not hinder the nuns from being poor and most perfect. Before I say more I will tell who the foundress was, and how our Lord made her the foundress of this house.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xix. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Velasquez and Teresa de Layz obtained the help of Don Juan de Ovalle and his wife, the Saint's sister Juana, in this negotiation (*Ribera*, ii. 17). The first steps towards the establishment of this convent had been taken in 1568, and S. Teresa had actually left Medina with some nuns for this foundation, when difficulties arose which caused the postponement of the project. *Oeuvres*, iii. 262, note.

<sup>3</sup> See ch. ix. 3, note (<sup>v</sup>).

IHS<sup>4</sup>

2. Teresa de Layz, the foundress of the monastery of the Annunciation of our Lady of Alba de Tormes, was the daughter of parents of noble birth, ancient lineage, and honoured ancestry, who, because they were not so wealthy as they were well-born, had settled in a place called Tordillos, some two leagues from Alba. It is very sad, because so much vanity is in the world, that people should willingly undergo the loss of instruction, and of many other things which help to give light to the soul, which is inseparable from dwelling in small villages, rather than give up one of those distinctions which that which men call their honour carries with it. They had four daughters already when Teresa was born, and were much distressed when they saw that she too was a girl.

3. It certainly is a thing much to be lamented that mortal men not knowing what is best for them, as persons wholly ignorant of the judgments of God, discerning neither what great blessings may come by daughters nor what great evils by sons, should seem so unwilling to leave it in His hands to whom everything is known and by whom all things are made, but must fret themselves to death about that in which they should rather rejoice. As people whose faith is asleep, they will not seriously consider nor remember that it is God who thus ordains—that they may leave it all in His hands; and now, when they are so blind as not to do so, it is a great ignorance not to understand how little they gain by their fretting. O my God, in what a different light shall we look on our ignorances in that day when the truth of all things shall be made known! How many fathers will have to go to hell because of their sons, and again

<sup>4</sup> Thus in the original MS.

how many mothers will go to heaven by the help of their daughters !

4. To go back to what I was saying, things came to this pass, that, as if the infant's life was of no importance to them, she was left alone on the third day after she was born, and nobody thought of her from morning till night. One good thing they had done—they had had her baptised by a priest as soon as she was born. When night came a woman, who had the charge of her, and who knew what had happened, ran to see if she was dead, and with her some others who had come to visit the mother, and who were witnesses of what I am going to say. The woman, in tears, took the child into her arms and said, 'How, my child ? Are you not a Christian ?' as much as to say that she had been cruelly dealt with. The child raised its head and said, 'Yes, I am.' She never spoke again till she had reached the age at which children usually speak. They who knew her were amazed, and her mother then began to cherish and caress her, and used often to say she should like to live to see what God would do with the child. She brought her children up most admirably, teaching them all the practice of virtue.

5. When the time had come they wanted her to marry ; she refused, having no wish to do so ; but when she found that it was Francis Velasquez, founder also of this house, and now her husband, who sought her in marriage, though she had never seen him in all her life, yet, merely on hearing his name spoken, she made up her mind to be married if they would let her marry him. Our Lord saw that this was necessary for the doing of that good work which they have done together for the service of His Majesty. Francis Velasquez is not only

a wealthy and good man, but he is one who so loves his wife that he does her pleasure in everything, and for good reasons, because whatever may be required in a wife our Lord has most abundantly supplied. She is not only careful of his house, but is also exceedingly good, for when her husband took her to Alba, his native place, and the quarter-masters of the duke assigned a lodging in her house to a young knight, she felt it so much that she hated the place, for, being young and very beautiful, evil might have happened if she had not been so good, seeing that Satan began to suggest evil thoughts to the knight.

6. She, perceiving this, but without saying anything about it to her husband, asked him to take her elsewhere ; he did so, and brought her to Salamanca, where they lived in great happiness and worldly prosperity, for he held an office<sup>5</sup> on account of which everybody wished much to satisfy and please them. One trouble only they had—our Lord left them childless. She used to practise many devotions and make many prayers to obtain children of our Lord, and never begged anything else from Him but children who when she was dead were to praise His Majesty ; for she thought it hard that all should end with her, and that when her time was come she should leave none behind to praise God. She told me herself that she had no other reason for desiring children, and she is a woman of great truthfulness ; she is so pious and so good a Christian, as I have already said, that she makes me give thanks to God when I see her good works, and consider how anxious she is always

<sup>5</sup> *Ribera*, ii. 17, says he knew Velasquez in Salamanca, where he was treasurer of the University, having the care of its property, and the duty of paying their salaries to the professors and regents.

to please Him, and to spend all her time unceasingly in His service.

7. She passed many years having this desire; praying also to S. Andrew, who she was told would intercede for her in her trouble. One night, after her many other devotions were over which she used habitually to make, she heard a voice, when she had laid down to sleep, saying, ‘Do not wish for children : why damn thyself?’ She was very much astonished and alarmed, but for all this the wish to have children never left her ; for, as the end she had in view was so good, she could not see why she should be damned for it, and so she went on praying to our Lord for children, and making special prayers to S. Andrew in particular. On one occasion, entertaining this desire, she does not know whether she was awake or asleep—be that as it may, she knows by the results it was a good vision—she seemed to be in a certain house in the court of which, beneath the gallery, was a well, and there she saw a meadow fresh and green, covered with white flowers in such great beauty that she cannot describe what she saw. Close to the well she beheld S. Andrew in a most venerable and beautiful form, so that it was a great joy to look upon him : he said to her, ‘These children are different from those whom thou desirest.’ She wished the great joy she had in that place might not come to an end, but it did not last. She saw distinctly it was S. Andrew, without being told so by anybody, and also that it was our Lord’s will that she should found a monastery ; whereby we may see that the vision was as much intellectual as imaginary—that it could not be fancy or an illusion of Satan.

8. In the first place, it was no fancy, because of the great results that flowed from it, for from that moment



she never again wished for children : she was so persuaded in her heart that it was the will of God that she neither asked nor even desired to have children any more, on the contrary she began to think of the means of carrying out our Lord's wish. Next it is clear also that the voice came not from Satan, because of the effects of it ; for nothing that comes from him can do any good, as the founding of a monastery is, wherein our Lord is greatly served. And, again, it could not be from Satan, because it took place more than six years before the monastery was founded, and Satan cannot know what is coming. Being much amazed at the vision, she said to her husband that they might as well found a monastery, seeing that it was not God's will they should have children. As he was so good, and loved her so much, her husband was delighted at it, and they began to consider where they should make a foundation. She was for the place where she was born : he suggested to her many good reasons against it, in order that she might see it would not do to build it there.

9. While they were discussing the matter the duchess of Alba sent for the husband, and when he had come asked him to return to Alba, and there undertake a charge and office she gave him in her household. He, when he saw what she required of him and had spoken to him about, accepted it, though much less profitable than his office in Salamanca. His wife when she heard of it was much distressed, because, as I said before, she hated the place ; but on being assured by him that no lodgers would be admitted into the house she was somewhat satisfied, though still very sorry, because she liked Salamanca better. He bought a house and sent for her ; she came in great grief, and was more grieved still when

she saw the house, for, though it was in a very good situation and large, yet it had not many rooms, and so she passed the night in very great sadness. The next morning, on entering the court, she saw on that very side of it the well beside which she had seen S. Andrew ; everything was precisely as she had seen it in the vision—neither more or less—I mean the place itself—but she did not see the Saint, or the meadow, or the flowers, though then and always present to her imagination. On seeing this she was troubled, and made up her mind to found a monastery on the spot. She was now comforted and in peace, without any wish to go elsewhere to live, and they began to buy other houses near, till they had acquired ground enough.

10. She was very anxious to find out what order it should belong to, her wish being that the nuns should be few, and the enclosure strict. In discussing the matter with two religious of different orders, very good and learned men, she was recommended by both to do some other good work in preference, because nuns, for the most part, are discontented people. Many other things of that kind they said to her ; for, as Satan hated the work, he wished to hinder it, and so he made them consider the reasons they were giving as very weighty. As they insisted so much upon it that there was no good in founding a monastery, and as Satan too, who had a greater interest in hindering it, made her afraid and uneasy, she resolved not to go on with her work, and said so to her husband ; and then, as people of that kind told them it was not right, and as they had no other object but that of serving our Lord, they thought it right to forgo their purpose. Accordingly they agreed to marry a nephew of hers, a child of her sister whom she loved much, to a niece of her husband, and to give them

a great portion of their property, and with the remainder to make provision for their own souls : the nephew was very good and very young.

11. They were both bent on this, and perfectly satisfied with their plan. But, as our Lord had other designs, their agreement was of little worth, for within a fortnight the nephew became so ill that in a few days our Lord took him to Himself. To her it was a most bitter sorrow : the resolution they had come too, of giving up that which God wished them to do, in order to enrich the nephew, had been the occasion of his death, and she fell into a great fear. She called to mind what had happened to the prophet Jonas<sup>6</sup> because he would not obey God, for it seemed as if God was chastising her by taking from her a nephew whom she loved so much. From that day forth she was resolved to let nothing hinder the founding of the monastery, and so was her husband, though they did not know how to compass their end. God put into her heart—so it seems—that which is now done ; and they to whom she spoke and described the kind of monastery she wished to have—in particular her confessor, a Franciscan friar, a learned and distinguished man—ridiculed it, for they thought she would never find what she was seeking. She was in very great trouble.

12. This friar happened to go, about this time, to a certain place where he was told of these monasteries of our Lady of Carmel which were being then established. Having obtained much information about them, he returned and told her that he had now learnt that she could found her monastery, and in the way she wished. He told her what had happened, and recommended her to find means of speaking to me. She did so. We had

<sup>6</sup> Jonas i and ii.

a great deal of trouble in making the arrangement,<sup>7</sup> for I have always laboured to have the monasteries which are endowed sufficiently furnished, so that there shall be no need for the nuns to apply to their kindred or to anybody else, that they shall have in the house whatever is necessary in food and raiment, and that the sick shall be well cared for, because many inconveniences result from the want of what is necessary. I have never been without the courage and the confidence necessary for founding monasteries without revenues, for I was certain God would never fail them ; but I have no heart for founding monasteries to be endowed and that scantily ; I think it better not to found them at all. At last they became reasonable, and assigned a sufficient endowment for the number of nuns ; they also did that which I thought much of—they left their own house and gave it to us, going themselves to live in one that was in a wretched state. The Most Holy Sacrament was reserved and the foundation made on the feast of the Conversion of S. Paul, in the year 1571, to the honour and glory of God ; and in that house, I believe, His Majesty is well served. May it please Him ever to prosper it !<sup>8</sup>

13. I began by giving some account of particular sisters in these monasteries, thinking that when people came to read what I am writing those sisters would not be then alive : my purpose was to encourage those who came to us to go onwards according to such a good beginning. Afterwards I considered that there might be found some

<sup>7</sup> The contract between the founders and the nuns, the authorisations of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and the patent of the General are kept like relics at the cathedral of Salamanca. *Oeuvres*, III. 272, note.

<sup>8</sup> The Saint went from Alba to Salamanca, having made Juana of the Holy Ghost prioress, and Maria of the Blessed Sacrament sub-prioress (*Ribera*, II. ch. xvii).

one who would do it better, and more in detail, and without the fear that troubles me, for I have been thinking that I shall be considered as an interested person. I have therefore omitted many things which they who have seen and known them cannot help regarding as miraculous, because supernatural. I will not speak on this subject, neither will I speak of those things which our Lord visibly granted to their prayers. In the dates of the foundations I suspect I am occasionally in error, though I am as careful as I can be to refresh my memory. As it is not a matter of much importance, and the correction can be made hereafter, I speak to the best of my recollection : it will make but little difference if there should be some mistakes.

## CHAPTER XXI

TREATS OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE GLORIOUS S. JOSEPH OF CARMEI  
AT SEGOVIA.      FOUNDED ON THE FEAST OF S. JOSEPH, 1574<sup>1</sup>

1. Our Lord bids the Saint found another monastery.—2. She asks the permission of the visitor.—3. Doña Ana de Jimena.—4. The Saint takes possession.—5. Antonio Gaytan.—6. The nuns to be grateful.—7. Conduct of the Vicar-General.—8. The Saint has law-suits.—9. Which she settles by paying money—10. She returns to Avila.

1. I HAVE already said<sup>2</sup> that after founding the monasteries in Salamanca and in Alba, but before the nuns of Salamanca were settled in a house of their own, I was sent by the father, Fray Pedro Fernandez,<sup>3</sup> then apostolic

<sup>1</sup> S. Teresa wrote 1573, but Father Gratian corrected the date.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xix. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Fray Pedro Hernandez or Fernandez y Orellana of whom S. Teresa always speaks with the greatest respect, was a Dominican, and had been provincial of his Order ; at this time, however, he was prior of Talavera de la Reina. S. Pius V, by a bull of 20th August 1569, nominated



commissary, to the monastery of the Incarnation in Avila for three years, and that he, seeing the distressed state of the house in Salamanca, sent me back to remove the nuns into a house of their own.<sup>4</sup> I was in prayer there one day when our Lord commanded me to go and make a foundation in Segovia. It seemed to me an impossibility, because I could not go unless I was ordered, and I had heard from the father-master, Fray Pedro Fernandez, the apostolic commissary, that he did not wish me to make any more foundations. I saw at the same time that, the three years I had to stay in the Incarnation not being ended, he had good reasons for not desiring any. While I was thinking of this our Lord bade me speak to him about it, for he would give his consent.

2. I was in Salamanca at the time, and wrote to the commissary saying that he was aware the most reverend the father-general had commanded me never to fail to make foundations wherever an opportunity occurred; that the bishop<sup>5</sup> and city of Segovia had consented to admit a monastery of our order, which I would found if he would order me; that I was informing him of the same, for the term of four years, visitor apostolic of the Carmelites of Castille, and Francisco Vargas, also a Dominican, visitor of those of Andalucía. He made S. Teresa's acquaintance at Avila in 1571, and was so impressed by her that he chose her for the post of prioress of the convent of the Incarnation. It is recorded of him that he always travelled on foot; while engaged in a visitation of friars he was most punctual in observing their rule, frequenting the choir, keeping the fasts and observing silence; he never entered the enclosure in convents of nuns but spoke to the sisters in the parlour. When the province of Discalced Carmelites was established (22nd June 1580), the Pope commissioned him to preside over the constituent chapter, but before it could be held he died at Salamanca, 22nd Oct. 1580. *Oeuvres*, iii. 275, note.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xix. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Don Diego de Covarrubias y Leyva (*Ribera*, iii. 2). He was born in Toledo, 25th July 1512, studied canon law in Salamanca under the celebrated Navarre, whom he speaks of as *præceptor meus ornatissimus*,

fact for the satisfaction of my conscience, and whatever orders he might give I should be safe and contented. These, I believe, were the words I used, or nearly so, adding that I thought it was for the service of God. It was plainly the will of His Majesty, for he commanded me at once to make the foundation, and gave his permission, at which I was much astonished, remembering what I had heard him say on the subject. From Salamanca I found means to have a house hired for us,<sup>6</sup> for since the foundations in Toledo and Valladolid were made I had felt it was better, for many reasons, to take possession first, and then look for a house of our own. My chief reason was, that I had no money wherewith to buy a house ; that, the monastery once founded, our Lord would provide one forthwith ; and that a better site might be then selected.

3. There lived there a lady, Doña Ana de Jimena, who had been the wife of the heir to an entailed estate. She had visited me once in Avila, and was a very great servant of God. Her vocation had always been that of a nun. Accordingly, when the monastery was established, she came in with a daughter of hers, who had led a most pious life ; and for the trouble she had had as wife and widow our Lord repaid her twofold in religion. The

*Martinus Azpilcueta* (*Relect. in C. Peccatum*, par. 2, § 9) ; and in 1543 was made professor there of canon law ; bishop successively of Ciudad Rodrigo, of Segovia, and of Cuenca, in succession to Don Gaspar de Quiroga, the grand inquisitor, who was made archbishop of Toledo. The chronicler says he died in Madrid when still bishop of Segovia, 27th September 1577, being then sixty-five years of age. He was a man of great learning and greater piety. Nine years after his death his body was found not only incorrupt but fragrant (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxiv. 7).

<sup>6</sup> Doña Ana de Jimena, widow of Francisco Barros de Bracamonte, and her cousin Don Andres de Jimena, hired the house (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xxvii. 2).

mother and daughter had always lived most devoutly in the service of God. This saintly lady took the house, and whatever she saw we needed, whether for the church or for ourselves, that she provided, and I had but little trouble in the matter. But, that there might be no foundation made without some trouble, I was always unwell during the six months I was there; besides, I had gone thither inwardly ill at ease, for my soul was in very great dryness and darkness; I had a fever upon me, and loathed my food, with many other bodily ailments which for three months oppressed me sorely.<sup>7</sup>

4. On the feast of S. Joseph the Most Holy Sacrament was reserved, and, though I had the sanction both of the bishop and of the city, I would not enter but in secret the night before.<sup>8</sup> It was a long time now since the sanction had been given, and, as I was in the Incarnation, having a superior other than the most reverend the father-general, I had not been able to make the foundation. The bishop's permission who was there<sup>9</sup> when the city asked it of him, was a verbal one, given to a nobleman, Andres de Jimena, who asked for it on our behalf. He did not take the trouble to have it in writing,

<sup>7</sup> The Saint took with her from Salamanca the nuns Marina of Jesus and Isabel of Jesus, a sister of Andres de Jimena, both natives of Segovia. She passed through Alba, where the duchess of Alba entertained her. It is this visit she speaks of in the *Interior Castle*, vi. M. ch. iv. 9. From Alba de Tormes she took with her Guiomar of Jesus, thence she proceeded to Medina del Campo and Avila, where she remained both at the Convent of the Incarnation and that of S. Joseph from which she took her cousin Isabel of S. Paul, who returned with the Saint when the foundation had been completed (*Ribera*, iii. 2).

<sup>8</sup> The Saint and her companions were lodged this night in the house of Doña Ana de Jimena (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xxvii. 3).

<sup>9</sup> The bishop was absent when the Saint arrived in Segovia, being detained in Madrid on business as president of Castile (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xxvii. 3).

nor did I think it was of any importance myself. I made a mistake, for the vicar-general, when he heard that a monastery had been founded, came at once in great wrath, refused to allow mass to be said any more, and sought to imprison him who had said it, a barefooted friar<sup>10</sup> who had come with the father Julian of Avila, and another servant of God who had travelled with us, Antonio Gaytan.

5. This was a nobleman from Alba,<sup>11</sup> who had once been very worldly, but whom our Lord had called some years since. He so trampled on the world that his whole soul was intent on serving our Lord more and more. I have said who he was because I shall have to speak of him again in giving an account of the other foundations, for he has helped me much, and undertaken great labours for me : if I were to speak of his goodness I should not finish so soon. What was of most service to us was his mortification, for even among the servants who were with us there was not one who served us in our necessities as he did. He is a man of much prayer, and God has given him such graces that what is annoying to others he accepts with joy and makes light of ; all the troubles he had in these foundations he regarded as nothing, whereby it seems clear that God called him and Father Julian of Avila to the work ; Father Julian, however, had been with me ever since the first monastery was founded. Our Lord must have been pleased, for the sake of such companions, to prosper all

<sup>10</sup> This was none other than S. John of the Cross who had said the mass (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch xxvii. 3). Julian of Avila hid himself under the staircase (*Ribera*, iii. 2).

<sup>11</sup> He seems to have left Segovia when the Saint had obtained a house, for Salamanca, to which place the Saint sent him a letter about the beginning of June. He had first gone to Pastrana to escort the nuns from that house to Segovia, whither they came in the holy week of this year, 1574. See ch. xvii. 15.

my undertakings. Their conversation on the journey was about God, for the instruction of those who travelled with us and who met us on the road, and thus did they serve His Majesty in every way.

6. It is only right, my daughters, that those of you who shall read the story of these foundations should know how much you owe them, that, as they took so much pains, having no interest of their own in the matter, to obtain for you the blessings you possess of living in these monasteries, you may commend them to our Lord, so that they may derive some advantage from your prayers; for if you knew the hardships they endured night and day, and how toilsome were the journeys they made, you would most willingly do so.

7. The vicar-general would not quit the church without leaving a constable at the door, I know not for what purpose. It helped to frighten a little those who were there: as for myself, I never cared much what might happen after taking possession; all my fear is before. I sent for certain persons, relatives of one of the sisters<sup>12</sup> who was with me, chief people in the place, to speak to the vicar-general and tell him that I had had the sanction of the bishop. He knew that well enough, so he said later; what he wanted was to have been told of it beforehand; that, I believe, would have been much worse for us. At last they settled with him that he was to leave us in possession of the monastery, but he would not let us have the Most Holy Sacrament.

8. That gave us no concern; we remained there some months till we bought a house,<sup>13</sup> and with it, too, many

<sup>12</sup> This was Isabel of Jesus (*Reforma*, bk. III. ch. xxvii. 3).

<sup>13</sup> Situated in the *Calle Canongia nueva* near the cathedral. It was bought from Diego Porraz.



lawsuits. We had had one already with the Franciscan friars for another which we bought close by ; about another house we had to go to law with the friars of the order of our Lady of Mercy, and with the chapter, which had a rent-charge on it. O Jesus, what it is to have to contend against many minds ! When I thought everything was settled we had to begin again ; it was not enough to give them what they asked for—some other inconvenience came at once to light ; it seems nothing when I speak of it, but it was much to endure.

9. A nephew of the bishop <sup>14</sup> did all he could for us—he was prior and canon of the church ; so also did the licentiate Herrera, a very great servant of God. At last, when we had paid money enough, everything was settled. Our lawsuit with the friars of the order of Ransom remained, and it was necessary for us to go with the utmost secrecy to our house. When they saw us in possession, which was a day or two before Michaelmas, they thought it better to compromise the matter for a

<sup>14</sup> This was Don Juan de Orosco y Covarrubias de Leyva, afterwards bishop of Girgenti and later of Guadix, where he died in 1610. Going from the episcopal palace to the cathedral on the day S. Teresa took possession, he saw the cross over the door of the house, and when he heard it was a Carmelite monastery went in, and, after praying a while, asked permission to say mass. It was granted, and after mass he asked to see the Saint ; she came with the sister Isabel of S. Dominic, and before he could make any offer of his services she told him that God had brought him to the house, and that he was bound to help her, for she was a cousin of his aunt Doña Maria de Tapia. Don Juan helped the monastery to the utmost of his power, heard the confessions of the sisters, and for some time was himself their only chaplain. The vicar-general did not spare even the nephew of the bishop when he found fault with S. Teresa, and Ribera (iii. 2) says he inveighed bitterly against him for saying mass in the chapel. Don Juan de Orosco narrates the facts himself in a letter dated Guadix, 20th May 1606, and addressed to the Father Alonso de Jesus Maria, general of the Barefooted Carmelites. The letter is published by Don Vicente de la Fuente, vol. vi, p. 206.

sum of money. The greatest anxiety which these troubles occasioned me was that it wanted only seven or eight days to complete my three years in the Incarnation.<sup>15</sup>

10. It pleased our Lord that everything should be so well settled as to leave nothing in dispute, and two or three days afterwards I went to the Incarnation. Blessed for ever be His name who has always been so good to me, and let all creatures praise Him! Amen.

## CHAPTER XXII

TREATS OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE GLORIOUS S. JOSEPH DEL SALVADOR IN VEAS, ON THE FEAST OF S. MATTHIAS, IN THE YEAR 1575

1. The Saint invited to Veas.—2. She hesitates at first.—3. The Visitor consents.—4. Origin of the foundation.—5. Doña Catalina Godinez.—6. Her conversion.—7. Grace the free gift of God.—8. Satan's rage at the conversion.—9. Fury of Satan.—10. Perseverance of Doña Catalina.—11. Her austerities.—12. Her illnesses.—13. Her trials.—14. Her courage and confidence.—15. Miraculously healed.—16. Her great sufferings.—17. Wished to conceal the miracle.—18. Received the last Sacraments twice.—19. The monastery founded.—20. The two sisters take the habit.—21. A vision of Doña Catalina.—22. And its fulfilment.—23. Her great confidence in God.—24. The two sisters become nuns.

1. At the time of which I have been speaking, when they sent me from the Incarnation to Salamanca, there came to me, when I was in the latter place, a messenger from the town of Veas with letters from a lady there, the

<sup>15</sup> The three years ended 6th October 1574, and the nuns, who when she was sent to rule over them threatened to become rebellious, were now so sorry to lose her that they re-elected her. The election, however, was not unanimous, and the Saint was unwilling to accept it. The provincial then intervened, and the Saint returned to her own monastery, where she was elected prioress (*Reforma*, bk. III. ch. xxxi. 4). Before leaving Segovia she visited the Dominican convent of Santa Cruz where in the grotto formerly occupied by S. Dominic she had a marvellous vision of the Saint.

parish priest, and other persons, all asking me to go thither and found a monastery, for they had a house ready, so that nothing was wanting but my going thither to make the foundation.<sup>1</sup>

2. I made inquiries of the messenger. He told me great things of the country, and justly so, for it is very pleasant, and the climate is good. But when I considered the many leagues that were between that place and this I thought it a folly, especially as I must have an order from the apostolic commissary, who disliked, or at least did not like, my making any more foundations. I wished, therefore, to say in reply that I could not, without telling him anything further. Afterwards it struck me that, as the commissary was then in Salamanca, it would not be right to send such an answer without having his opinion, because of the commandment I had received from the most reverend our father-general, not to omit making a foundation if occasion offered.

3. When he saw the letters he sent me word that he did not think it right to give pain to the writers ; that he was edified by their devotion ; that I was to write to them and say that as soon as they should have obtained the permission of the order<sup>2</sup> provision would be made for the foundation. He added, also, that I need not trouble myself—permission would not be given, for he had heard of the knights by other ways, and people had not been able for many years to obtain their consent ; but I was to send a friendly answer. I think of this sometimes, how, when our Lord wills anything, though we will it not, it

<sup>1</sup> This was in 1573 (*Reforma*, bk. III. ch. xxxii. 11). Veas is situated on the border of New Castille, Andalucía and Murcia.

<sup>2</sup> Veas was subject to the jurisdiction of a military order, that of the knights of S. James ; see below, § 13.

happens without our knowledge that we become the means of doing it ; so it was now with the father master, Fray Pedro Fernandez, the commissary ;<sup>3</sup> accordingly, when the permission was obtained he could not withhold his own, and the house was founded in that way.

4. The monastery of the blessed S. Joseph in the town of Veas was founded on S. Matthias' day,<sup>4</sup> in the year 1575. This was the way it began, to the honour and glory of God. In the town dwelt Sancho Rodriguez de Sandoval, a nobleman of ancient descent and wealthy. He was married to a lady whose name is Doña Catalina Godinez. Among the children whom our Lord gave them are two daughters—the eldest, Doña Catalina Godinez ;<sup>5</sup> the younger, Doña Maria de Sandoval ; they are the founders of the monastery. The elder was fourteen years of age<sup>6</sup> when our Lord called her unto His service. Until then she was very far from giving up

<sup>3</sup> S. Pius V, applied to once more by Philip II, undertook the reform of the Carmelites, and ordered all the friars in Andalucia to submit to the visitation of the ordinary, who was to be assisted by the Dominicans in all those places where Dominicans had a monastery. The Carmelites resisted and made loud outcries, so that the king was compelled to beg the Pope to recall the order and apply another remedy. Thereupon his Holiness determined that the Carmelites should be visited by Dominicans, and appointed as his delegate and visitor for the province of Castille Fray Pedro Fernandez, prior of Talavera de la Reina ; and for the province of Andalucia, Fray Francisco de Vargas, prior of S. Paul's, Cordova. The bulls of these visitors have been lost, but their date is known, 20th August 1569 ; they were made visitors for four years (*Reforma*, bk. II. ch. xxxviii. 4). Fray Antonio of S. Joseph says that the original bulls were preserved in the house of the Carmelite nuns in Toledo.

<sup>4</sup> 24th February.

<sup>5</sup> Born in 1534 (*Reforma*, bk. III. ch. xxxii. 2), but in 1540 according to the second vol. of the same work. See notes (<sup>6</sup>) and (<sup>15</sup>).

<sup>6</sup> She was exactly fifteen years old on the day this event happened, (1555) being born in 1540 ; on the 24th of February 1575 she took the habit and died on the 23rd February 1586. (*Ocueres*, iv. 3. sqq.)

the world : on the contrary, she thought so much of herself that she looked upon every offer of marriage which her father brought to her as not fitting for her.

5. One day, in an inner room beyond that in which her father was, who had not yet risen, she happened to read on a crucifix that was there the title on the upper part of the cross, when in a moment, as she was reading it, our Lord changed her heart. She had been thinking of an offer of marriage made to her, which was an exceedingly good one, and saying to herself, ‘How little satisfies my father provided I marry an eldest son ! while I intend that my family shall have its beginning in me.’ She had no wish to be married, for she thought it a meanness to be subject to any one, neither did she know whence her pride arose. Our Lord knew how to cure it, blessed be His compassion !

6. Accordingly, while she was reading the title a light seemed to have entered her soul, as the sun enters into a dark room, whereby she saw the truth. In that light she fixed her eyes on our Lord nailed to the cross shedding His blood, and thought of the ill-treatment He received and of His great humility, and then how differently she was demeaning herself in her pride. She must have spent some time thus, for our Lord threw her into a trance,<sup>7</sup> wherein His Majesty made her see deeply into her own wretchedness and to wish that everybody saw into it. He filled her with so great a desire of suffering for God that she wished she could undergo all the torments of the martyrs, giving her at the same time so earnest a longing for humiliation in her humility, with a loathing of self, that, if it had not been an offence against

<sup>7</sup> Our Lord showed her in a vision her own heart, full of corruption and loathsome worms (*Reforma*, *ibid.*).



God, she could have wished herself one of the most abandoned of women, in order that everybody might regard her with loathing ; accordingly, she began to hate herself, having most earnest desires for penance, which she afterwards carried into act. She made a vow of chastity and poverty on the spot, and wished so much to be subject to others that she would have been glad if they had taken her there to be a slave in the country of the Moors.

7. All these virtues have been so lasting that it is plain they were a supernatural gift of our Lord, as will appear later, in order that all may praise Him. Blessed for ever and ever be Thou, O my God, who in a moment undoest a soul and then createst it anew ! What does it mean, O Lord ? I should like now to repeat the question of the apostles, who when Thou hadst healed the blind man asked if his parents had sinned.<sup>8</sup> I ask, Who deserved so sovereign a grace ? It was not she, for the thoughts from which Thou didst withdraw her, when Thou gavest her that grace, are what I have described. O Lord, how high are Thy judgments ! Thou knowest what Thou doest, and I do not know what I am saying, for Thy works and Thy judgments are beyond all comprehension. Glory be unto Thee for ever, who canst do still greater things ; for if it were not so what would become of me ? But her mother must have had some share in this, for, as she was a most devout Christian, it is possible that Thou, full of compassion, must in Thy goodness have granted her to see in this life so great a virtue in her daughters. I think sometimes that Thou bestowest like graces on those who love Thee, and art so

<sup>8</sup> S. John ix. 2 : Rabbi, quis peccavit, hic, aut parentes ejus, ut cæcus nasceretur ?

merciful unto them as to give them children in whom they shall serve Thee.

8. While she was thus occupied she heard so loud a noise<sup>9</sup> overhead in the room that she thought the whole place must be tumbling down. The sounds seemed to descend to the ground in a corner of the room, and to come towards her in the spot where she was standing. She heard also loud roaring cries, which lasted for some time : so strange were they that her father, who, as I have just said, had not yet risen, was greatly alarmed and began to quake with fear, and then, like a man beside himself, having put on his dressing-gown, rushed into her room sword in hand, and, pale with terror, asked her what the noise came from. She answered him that she had seen nothing. He looked into another room beyond, and seeing nothing told her to go to her mother, whom he asked not to leave her daughter alone, telling her what he had heard.

9. This shows plainly enough what Satan must feel when he sees a soul which he thinks his own rescued from his hands. As he hates our welfare so much, I am not surprised that when he beholds our merciful Lord bestowing so many graces at once he should be alarmed, and show his anger so plainly, especially if he sees that, through the wealth of grace treasured up in that soul, he is to lose others he looked on as his own. I am persuaded myself that our Lord never grants a grace so great without communicating it also to other persons besides. She never spoke of this to anybody, but she had a very strong desire to enter religion, and frequently asked her parents for their consent ; they would never give it.

<sup>9</sup> The chronicler says the noise was as the bellowing of bulls (*ut supra*).

10. At the end of three years, during which she had often asked their consent, seeing that they would never give way, she dressed herself very simply on the feast of S. Joseph.<sup>10</sup> She told her mother, and her mother only, whose consent to her becoming a nun could be more easily had, but she would not venture to tell her father, and so went to church trusting that, once seen in public in that dress, she might not be made to change ; and so it came to pass. During those three years she used to set aside certain hours for prayer, and to mortify herself in every way she could, as our Lord taught her. She would go into the courtyard, moisten her face, and then expose it to the sun, in order that, being thereby disfigured, she might escape from the offers of marriage with which she was harassed still.

11. She was unwilling to command others, but, as she had the charge of her father's household, she must give orders to the women therein, for she could not help it : that done, she would wait till they were asleep, and then go and kiss their feet, distressed at being waited on by those who were better than herself. As she was occupied all day with her father and mother, she spent the whole night, when she might have been asleep, in prayer, so that very often she hardly slept at all ; which seems impossible, were it not that it was all supernatural. Her penances and disciplines were many, for she had no director, and so told nobody of them. Among other things she did was this : she once wore her father's coat of mail next her flesh during the whole of Lent. She would retire for prayer into a lonely place, where the devil used to mock her in strange ways. Very often she

<sup>10</sup> 19th March 1558, *en habito honesto*, that is, a kind of penitential dress worn by devout women.

began to pray at ten o'clock at night, and did not rise therefrom till it was day.

12. She passed nearly four years in these practices, when our Lord—for she had to render Him other and higher services—began to send her most grievous and painful sicknesses, such as a continual fever, with dropsy and disease of the heart. He sent her also a cancer in the breast, which was cut out. In short, her illnesses lasted about seventeen years, and she was scarcely ever well. After five years, during which God was thus merciful to her, her father died;<sup>11</sup> and her sister, being fourteen years old, though very fond of show, dressed herself simply a year after her sister made the change, and began also to give herself unto prayer, the mother encouraging them both in their good desires and practices, and allowing them to occupy themselves in an admirable work, but foreign to their condition, that of teaching little girls to work and read; not for any payment, but simply for the opportunity thereby had of teaching them their catechism and their prayers. A great good was wrought, for many went to them, and the good habits in which they were thus trained when quite young may be traced

<sup>11</sup> Doña Catalina, seeing that while her father lived it was impossible for her to enter religion, prayed to God for either the means of entering or the removal of her strong desires to leave the world. She then heard a voice saying to her, 'Do not distress thyself; thy father will die within two or three weeks. Bid him be ready.' She was very unwilling to do this, but as the time was passing away she said to her father, in a pleasant way, 'You are in better health, I think, than you have ever been.' Don Sancho replied, 'Well, I never was better in all my life.' Whereupon the daughter said, 'Then it is a sign that death is near, and remember that in our family we always die in August. You should put everything in order.' Don Sancho was so much struck by what his child said that he set his affairs in order at once, made his preparations for death, and on the third day God took him to Himself (*Reforma*, bk. III. ch. xxxii. 8). It was in August 1560.

in them at this day. This did not last long, for the devil, vexed to see so much good done, persuaded the parents that it was mean in them to allow their daughters to be taught for nothing.<sup>12</sup> This, together with illnesses now beginning, made them give up that work.

13. Five years after the father's death, the mother also died,<sup>13</sup> and Doña Catalina, as her vocation had always been that of a nun—only she could not obtain her father's consent—wished to become one at once. Her kindred advised her, as there was no monastery in Veas, that, having means sufficient for a foundation, the sisters should found a monastery in their own place, which would be a greater service to our Lord. As the place belonged to a commandery of the knights of S. James, a licence from the council of the orders was necessary, and so she began to make efforts to obtain it. It was so difficult to get that four years went by in much labour and expense, and nothing was done till a petition was drawn up and presented to the king. The difficulty being so great, it came to pass that her kindred told her it was folly to persist, and would have her give up her plan ; moreover, as she was almost always in her bed, suffering so much, as I said before, they said that into no monastery could she be received as a nun.

<sup>12</sup> This sarcasm of the Saint is expressive, and hits off the stupidity of Spaniards in her day. It is likely enough that there was no school there for little girls. Two young ladies of noble birth give themselves up out of charity to the gratuitous education of children ; but people calling themselves gentlemen find that their daughters must not mix with the children of the poor, nor be educated for nothing, as they were. They would rather have them ignorant. That the country is behind-hand has been laid to the charge of the religious orders. Would it not have been better to lay the fault at the door of vanity and easygoingness, the natural vices of the country? (*Fuente*).

<sup>13</sup> 1565.



14. Her answer was, that if within a month our Lord gave her again her health it would be a sign to them that He was pleased with her plan, and she would herself go to court to bring it about.<sup>14</sup> When she said this she had been for six months without leaving her bed, and for eight months had been scarcely able to move herself in it. At this time she had been for eight years in a continual fever, with consumption and dropsy ; she was also wasted by an inflammation of the liver, which was so violent that the burning heat of it was felt through the bedclothes, and singed her shirts. It seems incredible, but I heard so myself from the physician of whom I made inquiries about the illnesses she then had, and at which he was greatly amazed. She had also rheumatic gout and sciatica.

15. On the vigil of S. Sebastian, which was a Saturday,<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> She made this answer 19th December 1571, according to *Yepes*, ii. 27 ; but *Ribera*, iii. 3, says it was on the 29th December, having in the previous August received from our Lord a promise that her health would be restored to her in time to go to Madrid in Lent, as the Saint tells us below (§ 17).

<sup>15</sup> ‘The Vigil of S. Sebastian which was a Saturday.’ This was 19th January 1572, which actually did fall on a Saturday, but it should be borne in mind that the dates relative to Catherine of Jesus present many difficulties ; the chronicler of the Order corrected in his second volume those given in the first, and his amended figures have been adopted by the editors of the new French translation (*Oeuvres*, iv. 6 sqq.), and also by the present writer, with the exception of the last two dates, whereas Mr Lewis had followed those given in the first volume of the *Reforma*. Although S. Teresa’s memory with regard to dates was sometimes at fault the indication in the text seems too precise to be set aside without cogent reason. As to the actual circumstances of the miraculous cure the *Reforma* (bk. vii, ch. xx) quotes a paper written by Catherine herself in which she says that on the day in question an altar had been prepared in her room with a picture representing the Descent from the Cross, for she was about to receive Holy Communion. In presence of several witnesses among whom was a Jesuit father, Juan de Eraso, the face of Christ suddenly was covered with heavy perspiration, which some

our Lord restored her to health so completely that she could not hide the fact, that the miracle might not become known. Her account is that at the moment our Lord was about to heal her she had an inward quaking, which made her sister think she was dying ; she herself was conscious of some very great change in her body, and of another in her soul ; she felt so well. She had now a greater joy in her health, because it enabled her to prosecute the affair of the monastery, than she had had in suffering, for from the very first when God called her she so hated herself that she did not regard her sufferings. She says that her desire to suffer was so strong that she used to pray God with her whole heart to try her in all manner of suffering.

16. His Majesty did not fail to fulfil her desire, for in eight years she was bled more than five hundred times, and cupped so often besides that the marks were still to be seen in her flesh. Sometimes salt was applied, because one of the physicians said it was good for drawing out the poisonous humours which caused the pain in her side : this she underwent more than twenty times. What is more wonderful still is this :—whenever the physician told her that this remedy was to be had recourse to, she used to long for the coming of the time when it was to be used, without any fear whatever, and she herself

persons attributed to a miracle while others suggested some natural cause. They handed the picture to the sick person who was seized with a violent fit of trembling and such anguish that she thought her end had come. Holding it in her arms and pressing her face against that of our Lord she, too, was covered with perspiration. At the same time she felt a great change in her whole body as if all her diseases were being taken away like a garment. She heard a voice saying within herself : ‘ Arise, thou art cured, go and ask for the permission (to found a convent), for thou wilt obtain it.’ And all at once she felt so well as if she had never been ill.

encouraged the physicians when they cauterised the cancer, which was often done, and on other occasions when such violent means were used. She says that what made her wish for suffering was the desire to know if those longings she had to be a martyr were real.

17. When she found herself suddenly well she spoke to her confessor and physician about removing into another place, that they might be able to say that a change of residence had done it. They refused: so far from it, the physicians published it abroad, for they looked on her state as incurable, because the blood that issued from her mouth was so corrupt that they said it was the lungs themselves. She continued three days in bed, and would not venture to leave it, lest her restoration to health should become known; but, as she could not hide it any more than she was able to hide her sickness, it was of little service to her. She told me that, one day in the month of August previously, she begged our Lord either to take from her the great desire she had to be a nun and found a monastery, or to furnish her with the means of accomplishing that desire, and that she was completely assured that she would be well in time to go to the court in Lent for the licence.

18. She says too that, though her ailments were at that time much more grievous to bear, she never ceased to hope that our Lord would grant her that grace. And, though she received the Sacrament of the last anointing twice—once in such imminent peril that the physician said there was not time enough to send for the Holy Oil, and that she would be dead before it could be brought to her—she never abandoned her trust in our Lord, being certain that she was to die a nun. I do not mean that she was anointed twice between August and the feast of

S. Sebastian—it was before that time. When her brothers and kindred saw the goodness of our Lord to her, and the miracle He wrought in the sudden restoration of her health, they would not venture to hinder her journey, though they regarded it as a folly. She was three months at the court, and her request was in the end refused. She then presented her petition to the king, who, when he saw it related to the barefooted nuns of Carmel, ordered it to be granted forthwith.<sup>16</sup>

19. When the monastery came to be founded it was plain that she had treated the matter with God, for the superiors, though so far away, and the revenue so scanty, were ready to accept it. What His Majesty wills must be done without fail. Accordingly the nuns arrived in the beginning of Lent, 1575; the people came forth in procession to receive them with solemn rejoicings. There was great joy everywhere; even the little children showed it to be a work pleasing to our Lord. The monastery, under the invocation of S. Joseph of the Redeemer, was founded in Lent on the feast of S. Mathias.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> S. Teresa herself addressed a letter to the king supporting the request of Doña Catalina.

<sup>17</sup> On Thursday after the first Sunday in Lent. The poverty of this house was so great that in 1603 the superiors of the order resolved to break it up, and, in order to make the dispersion of the nuns the more easy to the other houses, issued an order, in the expectation that the elder nuns would die, that no more novices should be admitted, but the inhabitants of the town admonished by a vision of S. Teresa offered resistance. Thus it subsisted for many years, but there was no death among the nuns. The superiors at last recalled the order about novices, and on the very day that recall was known in the monastery postulants came in, and the old nuns began to die. (Fray Antonio of S. Joseph.) The nuns were dispersed in the civil wars, and the convent became suppressed, the only foundation of S. Teresa that suffered such a fate. But it was restored in 1899. *Oeuvres*, iv. 364.

20. On the same day the two sisters, to their great joy, received the habit.<sup>18</sup> The health of Doña Catalina improved still. Her humility, obedience, and desire to be thought nothing of show plainly how real were her good desires for the service of our Lord. Unto Him be glory for ever and ever !

21. The sister told me, among other things, that, about twenty years before, she went to rest one night anxious to find the most perfect order in the world, that she might become a nun in it ; and that, as she thinks, she began to dream she was walking on a very steep and narrow path in the utmost danger of falling down a precipice, when she saw a barefooted friar, who said to her, ' Sister, come with me.' On seeing Fray Juan de la Misericordia,<sup>19</sup> a lay brother of the order, who came to Veas when I was there, she said that he seemed to be the very person she had seen. The friar took her to a house wherein were a great many nuns, but there was no light in it beyond that given by the lighted candles which the nuns carried in their hands. She asked them to tell her what order it was ; all kept silence, and, lifting up their veils, showed countenances cheerful and smiling. She assures me that she then saw the faces of the very sisters she has seen here, and that the prioress took her by the hand and said to her, ' Child, I want you here,' and

<sup>18</sup> Doña Catalina was in religion Catherine of Jesus, and her sister Maria of Jesus ; both made their profession 11th September 1576. The eldest wished to be a lay sister, and it required the authority of S. Teresa to make her a choir nun (§ 24 below). She was afterwards prioress of the house, dying 23rd February 1586. The younger sister who became intimately befriended with S. John of the Cross from whom she received two letters (no. xii and xv), was chosen for the foundation at Cordova where she became prioress, and died 10th August 1604. *Oeuvres*, iv. 295.

<sup>19</sup> See ch. xvii, 5, note <sup>6</sup>.



showed her the constitutions and the rule. When she awoke from her dream she was very joyous, for it seemed to her that she had been in heaven, and wrote down what she remembered of the rule. For a long time she said nothing of this to her confessor or to anybody else, and nobody could tell her what order that was.

22. A father of the society,<sup>20</sup> came to the place who knew her wishes ; she showed him the paper, saying that if she could find that order she should be happy, for she would enter it at once. The father knew our monasteries, and so he told her that it was the rule of the order of our Lady of Carmel ; he did not, however, say this clearly in as many words so as to make her understand, but only that it was the rule of the monasteries I was founding ; and thus it came about that she sent me a messenger, as I said before.<sup>21</sup> When my answer was received she was so ill that her confessor told her she must be quiet, for if she were in the monastery they would send her away ; it was therefore very unlikely they would receive her in her present state. She was very much distressed at this, and, turning to our Lord in great earnestness, said, ‘O my Lord and my God, I know by faith that Thou canst do all things ; then, O life of my soul, either take away from me these desires or give to me the means of carrying them into effect.’

23. This she said in great truthfulness, beseeching our Lady, by the sorrow she felt when she looked on our Lord dead in her arms, to intercede for her. She heard a voice within herself saying, ‘Believe and hope : I am

<sup>20</sup> Father Bartholomew Bustamante. *Oeuvres*, iv. 18, note.

<sup>21</sup> See § 1, above.

almighty : thou shalt have thy health ; for to Him who is able to hinder thee from dying of so many diseases, all of them in themselves deadly, it is more easy to take them away.' These words, she says, gave her such strength and confidence that she could not doubt of the fulfilment of her desire, though her sufferings became much more grievous until our Lord restored her to health, as I have already said. These things certainly seemed incredible, and, if I had not learnt them of her physician, of those of her household, and others, I should not have been disinclined to think—for I am so wicked—that there was some exaggeration in the story.

24. Although delicate, her health is now such that she can keep the rule, and her constitution is good ; she is exceedingly cheerful, and in every way, as I said before, so humble that we all praise our Lord for it. The two sisters gave all they possessed to the order without any conditions whatever, and if they should not be received as nuns they required no compensation. Her detachment from kindred and her native place is great, and she has even a strong desire to go far away, and is very importunate on this point with her superiors ; yet so great is her obedience that she abides there in a certain contentment. It was under obedience that she received the veil, for there was no persuading her to be a choir nun—she would be a lay sister—till I wrote to her, giving her many reasons, and finding fault with her for having a will of her own instead of yielding to the father provincial. I told her that this was not the way to increase her merit, with much beside, treating her somewhat sharply. But it is her greatest joy to be thus spoken to, and in this way she was won over very much against her will. I know of nothing about this soul that is not pleasing unto God, and

she is so to all. May it please His Majesty to protect her with His arm, and increase her goodness, and the grace He has given her, to His own further service and honour! Amen.<sup>22</sup>

## CHAPTER XXIII

TREATS OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY OF THE GLORIOUS S. JOSEPH OF CARMEL IN THE CITY OF SEVILLE. THE FIRST MASS SAID ON THE FEAST OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY, 1575

1. The Saint becomes acquainted with Fray Jerome of the Mother of God.—2. His early education.—3. Fray Juan of Jesus.—4. Occasion of Fray Jerome's conversion.—5. His devotion to our Lady.—6. Who protected him.—7. The prioress of Pastrana suggests to him to become a friar.—8. The nuns pray for his vocation.—9. And obtain it.—10. Trials of the novitiate.—11. Temptation to quit the Order.—12. The great help he was to the Saint.—13. Difficulties about the monasteries of the friars.

### 1. WHEN I was staying in the town of Veas,<sup>1</sup> waiting for

<sup>22</sup> The final arrangements for the foundation in Veas were made when the Saint was prioress of her own house in Avila; the three years of her priorate in her old house, the monastery of the Incarnation, being ended 6th October 1574. She was in the monastery of Valladolid at Christmas, but returned to Avila after visiting her sisters at Medina del Campo early in the year 1575. (See below, ch. xxvii. 5). Then, leaving Avila for Veas, she went through Toledo, and took with her from the house there Mary of S. Joseph and Isabel of S. Francis, afterwards prioress in Lisbon and Seville. She also sent for Anne of Jesus from Salamanca. From Toledo she went to Malagon, and from that monastery took with her Mary of the Visitation, Isabel of S. Jerome, Leonor of S. Gabriel, Beatriz of S. Michael, Anne of S. Michael and Mary of the Holy Ghost. Anne of Jesus was made prioress, and the sub-prioress was Mary of the Visitation (*Ribera*, iii, 3; *Yepes*, ii, 27; *Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xxxiii. 1; *Oeuvres*, iv. 14).

<sup>1</sup> When the Saint was staying here she received letters from Don Alvaro de Mendoza, bishop of Avila, and from the nuns there, informing her that the officers of the Inquisition were searching for the 'Life,' written by herself (see *Relation*, vii. 8. 16).

the permission of the council of the orders for the foundation in Caravaca, there came to see me a father of our order, a barefooted friar, by name the master Fray Jerome of the Mother of God Gratian,<sup>2</sup> who, living in

<sup>2</sup> He came to Veas in April, 1575 (*Relation*, vi. 1). With this chapter and the first mention of Father Jerome Gratian of the Mother of God begins the story of almost unprecedented troubles which not only embittered the life of S. Teresa for the next five years but brought her whole work within a hair's breadth of utter destruction. Jeronimo Gracian was born at Valladolid, 5th or 6th June 1545, his father, Don Diego Gracian de Alderete being secretary to Charles V, and to Philip II, and his mother, Doña Juana de Antisco (or Dantisco) being the daughter of a Polish ambassador who late in life took Holy Orders and ultimately became bishop. Jerome was the third son out of twenty children, of whom thirteen survived. He received his first education at the Jesuit College at Madrid, went to the university of Alcalá de Henares in 1560, took the degree of Master in divinity in 1564, and was ordained priest in 1569. S. Teresa relates the circumstances which led him to ask for the Carmelite habit at Pastrana (25th March 1572). Soon after his profession (28th March 1573) he was employed in the administration and organisation of the Reform, by which work he was able, more than anyone else, to second the designs and intentions of the Saint. But it was also fruitful in crosses and reverses which cast a deep shadow over his whole life, blighting the brilliant prospects of his early years, and leaving him to die, an outcast, in a foreign country and in a different Order. Discreet, conciliatory, candid, meek and amiable he could not but endear himself to S. Teresa who conceived a singular veneration and affection for him; for she understood that our Lord had chosen him to hold His own place with regard to her (*Relation*, vi. 1); but lacking in decision, promptitude, firmness, he easily fell a victim to the jealousies and intrigues of others, less scrupulous and less charitable than himself. As long as Saint Teresa was alive she assisted him with her supernatural wisdom and protected him from great dangers, not the least of which was his own impetuous zeal, but after her death he was unable to face the brewing storm, and at length was swept away by it. When the Discalced Carmelites obtained the right of forming a province of their own, independently of the Calced friars and nuns, Jerome Gratian was elected provincial with a very small majority (3rd March 1581). At the expiration of his term of office the party of *zelanti* gained the upper hand, and Gratian went to Lisbon. Complaints against him became loud but as long as S. John of the Cross lived,—though himself a thorn in the side of that party—no decisive steps were taken; but no sooner

Alcalá a few years before, had taken our habit. He was a man of great learning, understanding, and modesty, united with great goodness throughout his life, and our Lady seems to have chosen him for the furtherance of this order under the primitive rule when he was in Alcalá, very far from taking our habit, though not from being a religious, for, though his parents had other views about him because of the king's favour and his great abilities, he was far otherwise minded himself.

2. From the time he began his studies his father wished him to apply himself to the study of the laws : he, though very young, felt so much on the subject that he prevailed on his father by dint of tears, to let him learn theology. When he had taken his doctor's degree he

was this last prop removed than the agitation against Gratian assumed unprecedented violence ; on the strength of falsified evidence he was at length expelled the Order whose soul and superior he had been for so many years (17th February 1592), the sentence being confirmed by the king, the nuncio and even the authorities in Rome. From the depth of his humiliation Gratian rose to the height of heroism. After vain attempts to join another Order he was taken prisoner by pirates and carried off to Tunis where he laboured at the peril of his life among the Christian slaves and even the renegades of the bagnio. Set free after eighteen months of captivity he was received by Clement VIII, who exclaimed : 'this man is a Saint.' His process was revised and the injustice of the sentence of expulsion established, but for practical reasons he was not allowed to re-enter the Order of Discalced Carmelites, but was attached to the Calced Carmes. He returned to Spain for a time, was commissioned to re-establish the monastery on Mount Carmel whence the Order had sprung (inedited letter to his sister, dated Genoa, 7th September 1600), preached the jubilee to the Christian slaves in Ceuta and Tetuan, and at length was called to Brussels by his friend and protector the archduke Albert (1606). There he spent the last years of his life in the practice of self-abnegation and in the apostolic ministry till death overtook him at Brussels, 21st September 1614. Although much has been written concerning him no complete biography has as yet appeared ; the two most important works are his autobiography entitled *Peregrinaciones de Anastasio*, Burgos 1905, and Grégoire de S. Joseph, *Le P. Gralien et ses juges*, Rome 1904.



wished to enter the Society of Jesus, and was accepted, but, for some reason or other, was required to wait a few days. He told me that all his worldly ease was a torture to him, for he did not think that was the right road to heaven ; and he always kept certain hours of prayer, and was most recollected and modest.

3. At this time a great friend of his, Fray Juan of Jesus,<sup>3</sup> also a doctor, became a friar of our order in the monastery of Pastrana. I know not if it was a letter he wrote to him on the greatness and antiquity of our order, or something else, that first moved him ; for Gratian took great pleasure in learning everything about the order and in consulting weighty authors thereupon, and frequently—so he says—had scruples about neglecting his other studies, not being able to give up this, spending therein even his hours of recreation. Oh, the wisdom and power of God ! how helpless we are when we would thwart His will. Our Lord saw how necessary for the work He had begun was a man like this. Often do I praise Him for being so gracious unto us, for if I had

<sup>3</sup> Fray Juan of Jesus was born in 1543, in the town of Sanahuja, in the diocese of Urgel, at the foot of the Pyrenees, in Catalonia. His father was Pedro Bullon, and his mother Isabel Roca, both most devout Christians. Fray Juan was sent to Barcelona, where he made all his studies, and there was made doctor in theology. He obtained a benefice and was ordained priest. Some time after he went to Alcalá, and there saw how empty were all learned distinctions. One day, in the monastery founded by Maria of Jesus (*Life*, ch. xxxvi. 29), he heard Jerome Gratian, then a secular priest, preach a sermon in which he spoke of the antiquity of the order, and of the many saints it had given to the church of God. He went thence to Pastrana, for the reputation of the monastery had filled the university of Alcalá, and in the beginning of the year 1573 made his profession (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxxix. 6, 7). He distinguished himself by great severity, having successively filled many and high offices he fell at last into disgrace owing to the discovery of his design of joining the Italian branch of the Discalced Carmelites. He died at Barcelona in 1614.

anxiously prayed to His Majesty for a person able to arrange everything for our order when it began I could not have asked for such an one as His Majesty has given us. May He be blessed for ever!

4. He was very far from thinking of taking our habit when he was asked to go to Pastrana to make arrangements with the prioress of the monastery of our order, not then removed thence,<sup>1</sup> about the reception of a nun. Oh, the ways of His divine Majesty! If he had made up his mind to leave Alcalá for the purpose of taking the habit he would probably have found so many to dissuade him that he might never have taken it. But the Virgin, our Lady, to whom he is extremely devout, would reward him by giving him her habit, and so I think that she interceded with God for him, and obtained for him that grace. The cause even of his taking the habit, and of his being so devoted to the order, was this glorious Virgin, who would not that one who longed so earnestly to serve her should be without the means of doing so; for she is wont to help those who wish to place themselves under her protection.

5. As a boy in Madrid he used often to go to an image of our Lady to which he had a great devotion—where it was I do not remember. He used to address her as his love, and it was the image he most frequently visited. She must have obtained from her Son for him that purity in which he always lived. He says that he saw her eyes sometimes—so he thought—filled with tears over the many offences committed against her Son. That made him very eager and earnest for the salvation of souls, and gave him a sense of pain whenever he saw people sin against God. So greatly is he under the dominion of this desire

<sup>1</sup> See ch. xvii. 15.

for the salvation of souls that he regards all troubles as nothing if he thinks he can do any good thereby. I have seen this to be true in the many troubles he has undergone.

6. The Virgin then brought him to Pastrana, he being all the while under a mistake, for he thought he was going thither to obtain the habit for a nun, and God was leading him thither to take it himself. Oh, the secrets of God! How, without our seeking, He goeth about preparing us for His graces, and how He rewarded this soul for the good works it had done, for the good example it had always given, and for its earnest desire to serve His glorious Mother! for His Majesty must ever repay this desire with exceeding great rewards.

7. Arrived in Pastrana, he went to speak to the prioress<sup>5</sup> about the reception of the nun who was to take the habit, and it seems that the prioress told him to pray to our Lord that he might enter the order himself. She saw how pleasing was his address—and it is so much so that for the most part those who converse with him come to love him; it is a grace from our Lord, and he is extremely beloved therefore by all his subjects, both friars and nuns; for, though he overlooks no fault—herein he is very exact regarding the prosperity of the order—he does it all with such winning sweetness that no one is able to complain of him.

8. It was with the prioress as with everybody else—

<sup>5</sup> Isabel of S. Dominic, see ch. xvii. 14. The postulant was doña Barbara del Castillo, formerly attached to the household of the Duchess of Alba. She was a penitent of Fr. Gratian's; having made her profession 16th March 1574, under the name of Barbara of the Holy Ghost, she filled for many years the post of sub-prioress of Caravaca, and for some time also that of prioress. She died 1st May 1609. *Oeuvres*, iii. 450; iv. 26 *note*.

she felt an immense desire that he should enter the order, spoke of it to her sisters, and told them all to consider it as of great importance to them, for there were then very few or scarcely any like him, and to pray to our Lord not to let him go away except in the habit. This prioress is a very great servant of God, and I believe His Majesty would have listened to her prayers alone : what, then, must He have done to the prayers of the holy sisters who were there? Every one of them took the matter into her own especial care, and made continual supplications to His Majesty in fasting, disciplines, and prayer ; and in the end He was pleased to be gracious unto us.

9. When Father Gratian went to the monastery of the friars, and beheld so much devotion and good will in the service of our Lord, and above all that this was the order of His glorious Mother, whom he so earnestly desired to serve, his heart began to be moved, and he had no wish to return to the world, though Satan suggested many difficulties, particularly the distress of his father and mother, who loved him much, and relied much on him to provide for their children.<sup>6</sup> They had many sons and daughters.<sup>7</sup> He, casting that care upon God, for whom he was leaving everything, determined to become the subject of the Virgin, and put on her habit ; and so they gave it to him, to the great joy of everybody,

<sup>6</sup> Though the father of Gratian was secretary to Philip II, and high in his favour, he was far from being wealthy. Some of his daughters, sisters of Gratian, had to be received as nuns without a dowry, and out of charity, because of the poverty of the family (*De la Fuente*, who adds, thinking probably of other secretaries, *Quantum mutatus ab illo!*)

<sup>7</sup> They had twenty children, six of whom—three daughters and three sons—became Carmelites ; but one of the latter had to leave through ill health.

especially of the nuns and the prioress, who gave earnest thanks to our Lord, thinking that God had done this for them in answer to their prayers.<sup>8</sup>

10. During the year of probation he was as humble as the least of the novices. His goodness was once tried in a special way : in the absence of the prior, a young and unlearned friar took his place as the next elder, but whose abilities were very poor, and who had no discretion in government ; he was also without experience, for he had but lately entered.<sup>9</sup> The way he ruled them and the mortifications he made them undergo were so severe that each time I think of it I am astonished that they were able to bear it, especially such persons as were there ; and they needed the spirit which God gave them to endure it. It was found out afterwards that this friar was very subject to melancholy, and wherever he may be, even as a subject, it is a trial to live with him ; what then must it have been when he had to govern others ? His melancholy temper has great mastery over him, and yet he is a good religious, and

<sup>8</sup> Fray Jerome took the habit, without returning to Alcalá, on the feast of the Annunciation, 25th March 1572, and was professed 28th March 1573.

<sup>9</sup> Fray Baltasar of Jesus, prior of Pastrana, having gone to Madrid, to assist in the erection of a convent at the royal court for the residence of the procurator of the Order, and the friars whom business called to Madrid, the superior, Fray Angel of S. Gabriel, took over the government of the house and the direction of the novices. He introduced new and unheard of mortifications by which he made the convent the laughing-stock of the public and disturbed the peace and tranquillity of the community. He was an earnest, fiery man of strong will, and his superiors were not able to withstand him, still less to control him. S. John of the Cross was sent to restore order, his first act being to remove the superior. S. Teresa, while approving of this step, thought it wise to consult Fray Domingo Bañez, who assured her in a letter still extant that the conduct of the master of novices had been most rash. Lewis, *Life of St John of the Cross*, p. 63. *Oeuvres*, iv. 30 note.



God sometimes allows the mistake to be made of putting persons of this kind in authority for the perfecting of the virtue of obedience in those He loves.

11. It must have been so in this case, for God gave to the father Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, who merited therein, the most clear light in the matter of obedience for the instruction of his subjects, having made himself so good a beginning in the practice thereof. And, that he might not be without experience in everything necessary for us, he was subject to most distressing temptations for three months preceding his profession; but he, as one who had to be a skilful leader of the Virgin's children, resisted them so well that when Satan was most urgent with him to leave the order, he defended himself by making a promise never to leave it, and to take the vows. He gave me a certain work he had written in the midst of these heavy temptations; it filled me with great devotion, and plainly shows what courage our Lord had given him.<sup>10</sup>

12. It may seem absurd that he should have told me much about his soul: our Lord, perhaps, would have it so in order that I might write of it here, to show forth His praise in His creatures, for I know that he never revealed so much to his confessor or to anyone else. Now and then there were reasons for it: he thought that I, with my many years, and because of things he had heard of me, might have some experience in such matters. He told me these things and others which I shall not write of, that I may not be tedious, when we were conversing about other matters. I have laid great constraint upon myself herein, lest I should give him pain if what I am writing should ever fall into his hands. I am not able

<sup>10</sup> This writing has not come down to us.

nor did I think it right—for this writing, if ever he should see it, will not be shown him for a long time—to refrain from speaking of one who has rendered such great services in the renewal of the primitive rule ; for, though he was not the first to make a beginning, he came in due time, for I should have been occasionally sorry that the reform had been begun if my trust in the mercy of God had not been so great.

13. I am speaking of the houses of the friars, for those of the nuns have, by the goodness of God, prospered even until now, and those of the friars have not failed ; but they had in them an element of rapid decline because, not forming a province by themselves, they were governed by the fathers of the mitigated rule. Those who could have governed them had no authority, such as Fray Antonio of Jesus,<sup>11</sup> who was the first to make a beginning ; nor had they any constitutions given them by the most reverend the father general.<sup>12</sup> In every house they did as they pleased. Before the constitutions were given them, and before they had a settled government of their own, there was trouble enough, some of them being for this and others for that. I was often in great distress about them. Our Lord sent the father-master Fray Jerome of the Mother of God to our relief, for he was

<sup>11</sup> Fray Antonio became a source of some anxiety to the Saint a few years after this, and before she had written the whole of this book. See Letters of 27th Sept. 1575 and 5th Sept. 1576.

<sup>12</sup> It is somewhat surprising that the Saint says the friars had no constitutions given them by the most reverend the father general, seeing that on the contrary he had drawn up constitutions before even the first foundation at Duruelo had been made (*Appendix*). The explanation is probably that these constitutions aiming at the purely contemplative life were considered inapplicable to the mixed life inaugurated by Antonio de Heredia and S. John of the Cross, and as a fact were never put into force.

made commissary apostolic,<sup>13</sup> and had to rule and govern both the friars and the nuns of the barefooted Carmelites. He made the constitutions of the friars;<sup>14</sup> we had ours already from the most reverend our father-general, and thus it was that he made none for us, only for them, in virtue of his apostolic authority and of the good gifts, as I said before, which our Lord had given him. The first time he made his visitation he ordered everything so wisely and so well, thereby showing plainly that His Divine Majesty was keeping him, and that our Lady had chosen him to be a succour of her order; and I pray her earnestly to obtain from her Son help for him always, and the grace to advance more and more in His service. Amen.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### THE FOUNDATION OF S. JOSEPH OF CARMEL IN THE CITY OF SEVILLE

1. The Saint's joy in Fray Jerome's visit.—2. He is made visitor of the Order.—3. The Saint leaves Veas for Seville.—4. Ill on the road.—5. Suffering from fever.—6. Risk in crossing a river.—7. Difficulty of entering Cordova.—8. Church full of people.—9. Difficulties in Seville.—10. More difficulties.—11. Destitute condition of the nuns.—12. The Saint nearly leaves Seville.—13. But waits.—14. The archbishop relents.

#### I. WHEN the father-master Fray Jerome Gratian came

<sup>13</sup> See below, ch. xxiv. i. note (1).

<sup>14</sup> The nuncio, Monsignor Ormaneto, in 1575 made Fray Jerome superior of the Carmelites in Spain, and accordingly in his visitation in that year the constitutions were made which Fray Jerome gave to the friars to observe. The constitutions of the nuns had been already drawn up by S. Teresa, by authority given her by the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius IV, who had approved of them as did also the General. She conceals the fact that she had written them herself, and says most truly that the later monasteries received them as the constitutions of the general.

to see me in Veas<sup>1</sup> as I have just said,<sup>2</sup> we had never met before, though I had wished it much ; letters, however, had occasionally passed between us. I rejoiced extremely when I heard he was in town, for I was longing to see him because of the good accounts I had had of him ; but I rejoiced still more when I had begun to converse with him, for he pleased me so much that I did not think that they who had spoken so highly of him really knew him at all. I was in great trouble at

<sup>1</sup> Fray Jerome made his profession 28th March 1573, and on the 4th of August following was created visitor of Andalucia by Fray Baltasar of Jesus, prior of Pastrana, acting under the authority of Fray Francis de Vargas, Dominican and apostolic visitor of the Carmelites in Andalucia. Notwithstanding his office, he would not leave his monastery of Pastrana without the permission of his superiors, and the visitor apostolic Fray Pedro Fernandez would not grant it. Fray Mariano (see ch. xvii. 5) therefore applied to Fray Angel de Salazar, the provincial, for leave to go to Seville on business which he had not settled when he took the habit. He applied also for leave to be accompanied by any father he might name. Nothing was said of the real reason, and Fray Jerome's name was not uttered. The provincial gave the leave required. Fray Mariano chose Fray Jerome to be his companion, and the two friars left Castille for Andalucia. In Toledo, whither they went to see Fray Antonio of Jesus, they were overtaken by a mandate of the general of the order, commanding Fray Mariano to become a priest ; and he, against his will, was then made sub-deacon on Ember Saturday, in September. They found Fray Francis de Vargas in his monastery of Granada, being then provincial of his order, who received them with great joy, and gave all his powers to Fray Jerome. The Carmelite provincial, having heard of the ordination of Fray Mariano, and having some suspicion that the journey was not meant only for his private affairs, recalled the two friars to Pastrana. They replied that they were ready to obey, but were unable, because under the obedience of Fray Francis de Vargas, the apostolic visitor. They then hastened to Seville, where Fray Jerome remained (not now subject to the provincial) till he was sent for to Madrid, because of the storm that began to threaten the reform. He preached in Seville during Lent, 1575, and then, leaving the city, arrived in Veas in April, while the Saint was still there (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xxi, xxii. ; and ch. xxxvi. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Ch. xxiii. I.

the time, but when I saw him our Lord seemed to show me all the good he was to do for us, and therefore during those days I felt such exceeding comfort and happiness that I was in truth astonished at myself. At that time, however, his authority did not reach beyond Andalucia;<sup>3</sup> but when he was in Veas the nuncio<sup>4</sup> sent for him, and then gave him jurisdiction over the barefooted friars and nuns of the province of Castille<sup>5</sup>. My

<sup>3</sup> The Carmelite friars, unwilling to be reformed, obtained from Gregory XIII, on the 3rd day of August 1574, the recall of the powers given to the two Dominican visitors by S. Pius V, so far as it enabled them to visit monasteries which the general or his vicars might visit. But as the papal brief did not touch the powers of the nuncio, who was himself commissioned to reform the order, the nuncio, to save the reform from the ruin that threatened it, made Fray Francis de Vargas and Fray Jerome of the Mother of God visitors of Andalucia, September 22nd of the same year. To make this act safe, the nuncio sent to Rome for advice, and the secretary of His Holiness told him that his powers had been left intact (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xxxix. 4).

<sup>4</sup> Monsignore Nicholas Ormaneto, one of the most zealous prelates of the sixteenth century. He had been in England with Cardinal Pole, and was afterwards present at the council of Trent. He was vicar-general of S. Charles in Milan, and afterwards Bishop of Padua. He came to Spain in 1572, and in June 1577 died in such extreme poverty, the fruits of continual almsgiving, that he had to be buried at the expense of the king, Philip II, who had the greatest respect for him, and who ordered his burial to be celebrated with the magnificence due to a prelate of such great worth (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxiii. 1).

<sup>5</sup> Fray Jerome was in Seville when the nuncio made him visitor of Andalucia, in September 1574. That first commission was not acted on by Fray Jerome, except in the commandment he gave S. Teresa to found a house in Seville. The second commission, by which he was made visitor of Castille also, was signed August 3, 1575, after he had seen S. Teresa in Veas. The nuncio gave him powers to reform the order both in Andalucia and Castille, and thus armed he began to make his visitation, which in Castille lasted three months. At this time he gave certain constitutions founded on the primitive rule, and on the practices of Fray Antonio of Jesus and S. John of the Cross, who had been in the order longer than he had been (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xxxix. 3 ch. xli. 4; ch. xlii. 1. See above, ch. xxiii. 12).



spirit so exulted in this that during those days I could not thank our Lord enough, and I had no wish to do anything else.

2. At this time they obtained the licence for making a foundation in Caravaca,<sup>6</sup> but it was not such as I required for my purpose ; and it became, therefore, necessary for them to send again to the court, for I wrote to the foundress that the foundation would be made only on certain conditions, not therein expressed ; and thus it became necessary to apply to the court again. It was very inconvenient for me to remain there so long, and I wished to return to Castille ; but, as the Father Fray Jerome, to whom the monastery was now subject—for he was commissary over the whole province of Castille<sup>7</sup>—was there at the time, and as I could do nothing without his consent, I communicated on the subject with him. He thought that if I were once gone there would be an end of the foundation of Caravaca, and also that it would be greatly for the service of God

<sup>6</sup> See ch. xxvii. below.

<sup>7</sup> The Carmelite fathers who observed the mitigated rule, when they saw that Fray Jerome of the Mother of God had obtained from Fray Francis de Vargas powers to protect those who kept the primitive rule, suspected that he had also, as was the fact, received powers to reform them. They immediately begged the general in Rome to obtain from Gregory XIII the revocation of the powers entrusted to the two Dominican visitors, and thereby those granted by one of them to Fray Jerome. That was done, but the general waited for the publication of the brief till 2nd May 1575, when the general chapter of the order was to meet at Piacenza. This was known in Spain, but, as the powers of the nuncio were not touched by the briefs, Ormaneto made Fray Jerome visitor of Andalusia and Castille (*Reforma* bk. III. ch. xxxvi. 1. 2.) Most of the previous editions, and nearly all the translations, including that of Fr. Bouix have 'province of Andalusia' instead of 'province of Castille' ; the French Carmelite nuns are of opinion that this latter is due to a slip of the pen of S. Teresa.

to found a house in Seville,<sup>8</sup> which to him seemed very easy, because persons in authority there, and willing to give him a house at once, had asked it of him.<sup>9</sup> The archbishop of Seville, too, was so well disposed towards the order that he believed he would be greatly pleased, and accordingly it was agreed that the prioress and the nuns whom I was to take to Caravaca should go to Seville. I had always resolutely refrained, for certain reasons, from making any foundations in Andalucia, and if I had known when I went thither that Veas was in the province of Andalucia I should not have gone at all. Though the place is not in Andalucia, I think it is four or five leagues distant from the boundaries of that country : it is, however, in the province, and that is the source of the mistake. But when I saw that it was the will of my

<sup>8</sup> Ch. xxiv. iii. Fray Jerome stayed about three weeks in Veas (letter of 12th May 1575), and commanded the Saint to ask our Lord whether the foundation in Madrid or that in Seville should be the next. The Saint obeyed, and the answer was Madrid. Thereupon Fray Jerome bade her prepare for that of Seville, and the Saint began at once to make her arrangements. Two or three days afterwards Fray Jerome asked her why she obeyed him, who was guided in the matter simply by reasons of his own, rather than our Lord, who had revealed to her that He wished her to go to Madrid. She replied that she could not be so sure of any revelation as she was of his order, and that it was her duty to obey him as her immediate superior. He ordered her to pray once more, and then our Lord bade her go to Seville (*Vépes*, ii. 28).

<sup>9</sup> Don Christobal de Rojas y Sandoval, son of the Marquess de Denia, born 26th July 1502, was first bishop of Oviedo in which quality he assisted at the council of Trent. Subsequently he was promoted to the archbishopric of Cordova and finally to that of Seville (1571). From the beginning of his administration of the latter see he experienced difficulties with the Calced Carmelites and therefore solicited through the king the appointment by the Pope of visitors apostolic. On the establishment of Discalced friars at Seville he lavished on them tokens of favour. He died in 1580 in the reputation of a strict disciplinarian and a warm friend of the poor. *Oeuvres*, iv. 36, note.

superior I yielded at once, for our Lord has given me the grace to think that my superiors are always in the right. Yet I had made up my mind to found a house elsewhere, and had some very grave reasons for not going to Seville.

3. Preparations for the journey were made at once, for the heat was beginning. The commissary, father Gratian, went to the nuncio, who had sent for him, and we to Seville<sup>10</sup> with my good companions father Julian of Avila, Antonio Gaytan, and a barefooted friar.<sup>11</sup> We travelled in carriages well covered, for that is ever our way of travelling, and when we came to an inn we took a room, good or bad as it might be, at the door of which a sister received what we had need of, and even those who travelled with us never entered it. We made all haste we could, yet we reached Seville only on the Thursday<sup>12</sup> before the feast of the Most Holy Trinity, having suffered on the road from the heat, which was

<sup>10</sup> The Saint, according to her letter (see note (8) above) intended to leave Veas 16th May 1575, but did so only on the 18th, Wednesday before Pentecost, taking with her Mary of S. Joseph, Isabel of S. Francis, Mary of the Holy Ghost, Isabel of S. Jerome, Leonor of S. Gabriel, and Anne of S. Albert. The last was not to remain in Seville, for the Saint intended her to be the prioress of Caravaca (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xxxvii. 3).

<sup>11</sup> He was an ecclesiastic, native of Villarubia, who had followed the Saint from Malagon with his two sisters, who were to become Carmelites. He himself had received the habit in Veas from Fray Jerome and taken the name of Gregory Nazianzen. Soon after he was made master of novices in Seville, where he was professed 27th March 1576. One of the novices under him was the famous Father Nicholas a Jesu Maria (Doria). At the same time in Veas, Julian of Avila received the Carmelite scapular from Fray Jerome. There Catherine of Jesus—Catalina de Sandoval—saw Fray Juan de la Miseria on his way to Seville, and recognised the friar she had seen in a vision twenty years before (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xxxvi. 6). See ch. xxii. 21.

<sup>12</sup> 26th May 1575.

very great ; for, though we did not travel on the holy days, I must tell you, my sisters, that, as the sun in its strength struck the carriages, to go into them was like going into Purgatory. Sometimes by thinking of hell, at other times that we were doing and suffering something for God, the sisters travelled in great cheerfulness and joy, for the six sisters who were with me had such courage that I think I could have ventured to go with them into the country of the Turks, and that they would have been so brave as to do so ; or, to speak more correctly, that our Lord would have made them brave enough to suffer for Him, for that was their desire and their conversation, being exceedingly given to prayer and mortification, for, as they were to live so far away, I took care they should be such as were fitted for the work ; and all my care was necessary, so great were the troubles that arose, some of which, and they were the heaviest, I will not speak of, because it might touch certain persons.

4. One day before Pentecost God sent them a very heavy cross, which was my falling into a very violent fever. They called upon God, and that, I believe, was the cause of its going no further, for I never had before in my whole life a fever of that kind that did not become much worse. It was so violent that I seem to have fallen into a lethargy, so unconscious was I. They threw water over my face, but it was so warm, because of the heat, that it gave me hardly any refreshment at all. I cannot help telling you of the poor lodging we had in this our need ; they gave us a small room like a shed, which had no window, into which the sun poured whenever the door was opened. You must remember that the heat there is not like that of Castille, being much more oppressive.

5. They laid me on a bed, but as it was so uneven being high on one side and low on the other I would have preferred being laid on the floor. I could not lie on it, for it seemed as if made of sharp stones. What illness is ! in health everything is easy to bear. At last I thought it best to rise and go on, for it seemed to me easier to bear the heat of the sun in the open country than in that little room. Oh, those poor souls in hell ! for them there is no change ; for that seems a relief, even if it be from one suffering to another. It has happened to me to have a very violent pain in one side, and to find an apparent relief in changing my place, though I had another pain as violent in the other : it was so now. I was not at all distressed, so far as I remember, at my illness ; the sisters felt it much more than I did. It was the good pleasure of our Lord that its extreme violence did not last more than one day.

6. A little before, I do not know if it was two days, something else befel us that placed us in no slight danger when crossing the Guadalquivir in a boat.<sup>13</sup> When they had to ferry the carriages across they could not keep close to the rope, and they had therefore to make a tack in the river, although in tacking also the rope was of some help to them ; however, it happened that those who held the rope either let it go or lost it, I do not know which, and the boat went off with the carriages away from the rope and without oars. I was more concerned for the distress of the ferryman than about the danger ; we began to pray, and the boatmen to shout. A nobleman in a neighbouring castle was looking on, and pitying our condition, sent people to our succour, for at that moment

<sup>13</sup> Near the village of Espeluy, where the Guadalquivir joins the Herrumblar.



we had not yet lost the rope, and our brethren with all their might were holding on to it ; the force of the current, however, was too much for them, and some of them were even thrown down. A little boy of the ferryman, whom I shall never forget, stirred up my devotion exceedingly, he must have been, I think, about ten or eleven years old ; his distress at the sight of his father in trouble was such as to make me give praise to our Lord. But, as His Majesty ever tempers our trials with His compassion, so it was at this time, for the boat struck on a sandbank, on one side of which the water was shallow, whereby they could come to our relief. We should have found it very hard to recover our road, because it was now night, if one who had come from the castle had not become our guide. I did not intend to speak of these things, which are of little importance, for I have said enough of the difficulties we met in our journeys—I have been pressed much to speak more at length.

7. A trouble far greater than those I have mentioned befell us on the last day of Whitsuntide.<sup>14</sup> We hurried on so as to reach Cordova early in the morning, that we might hear mass unseen by anybody. We were directed to go for greater retirement to a church on the other side of the bridge. When we were ready to cross we were without the permission necessary for carriages which only the governor could give, and as people were not yet up two hours passed away before it was obtained, and a great crowd came about us to find out who were the travellers. We did not care much about this, for as we were perfectly concealed they could not see us.

<sup>14</sup> According to the *Libro de las Recreaciones* of Mary of S. Joseph this incident happened on Whitmonday, and this date appears more correct than Tuesday as S. Teresa says, or Sunday according to Julian d'Avila.

When permission to cross was given the carriages could not pass through the gate of the bridge ; it was found necessary to use the saw, or something of that kind, I know not what, and that occasioned the waste of more time.

8. At last when we reached the church in which father Julian of Avila was to say mass we found it full of people, for it was dedicated to the Holy Ghost ; it was a great solemnity, and a sermon was preached ; of this we knew nothing. When I saw it all I was greatly distressed, and thought it would have been better for us to have gone on without hearing mass than be in the midst of so much confusion. Father Julian of Avila did not think so, and as he was a theologian we had all of us to yield to his opinion ; all the others who were with me would perhaps have followed mine, and it would have been very wrong. I do not know, however, that I should have trusted to my own opinion alone. We alighted close to the church ; though nobody could see our faces, for we always wore our large veils, it was enough to disturb everybody to see us in them, and in our white mantles of coarse cloth which we wear, and in our sandals of hemp : so it happened. The surprise, indeed, was great for me and for everybody : as for myself, it must have taken away my fever altogether. As we were entering the church a good man came up to me, and made a passage for us through the crowd. I begged him to take us to one of the chapels ;<sup>15</sup> he did so, and closed it upon us, nor did he leave us before he had led us out of the church again. A few days later he

<sup>15</sup> No chapel now except baptistry. There is now an altar in this church dedicated to S. Teresa with a painting representing the incident, but the chapel mentioned by the Saint must have been pulled down.

came to Seville, and said to a father of our order that he thought that because of the service he had rendered us God had been very good to him, for a large estate, of which he had no expectation, had come into his possession. I tell you, my daughters, that these were some of the worst moments I ever passed, though you may perhaps think nothing of it, for the people were in confusion as if bulls had broken in among them. I therefore did not wait for the usual hour for quitting that place, though there was no place near where we could take our rest at noon: we found it under a bridge.<sup>16</sup>

9. On reaching the house in Seville,<sup>17</sup> which the father Fray Mariano had hired for us—he had had directions to do so—I thought everything was done; for, as I said before,<sup>18</sup> the archbishop was very favourable to the barefooted Carmelites, and had occasionally written to myself showing me great affection, it was not enough however to spare me much suffering, for so God did will it. The archbishop is a great enemy of all monasteries of nuns founded in poverty, and he has his reasons. The mischief, or, to speak more correctly, the good, so far as this foundation is concerned, lay in silence on this point; for if they had told him all before I had set out on my journey I am certain he never would have given his consent. But the father commissary and father Mariano, most fully persuaded that he would give it, that my coming would be a very great pleasure to him,

<sup>16</sup> It was on this journey, at Ecija that the Saint made the vow of obedience to Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, of which she speaks in *Relation*, vi. 3.

<sup>17</sup> On Thursday, 26th May 1575, within the octave of Pentecost. See above, § 3.

<sup>18</sup> See § 2 above.

and that they were doing him a very great service in bringing me, said nothing to him beforehand, and as I was saying, they might have committed a great mistake if they had told him, thinking they were doing right ; for in founding the other monasteries the first thing I sought was the sanction of the ordinary, according to the decree of the council.<sup>19</sup> Here we not only took it for granted but looked on the monastery as a great service done to the archbishop, as indeed it was, and as he acknowledged afterwards ; only it was our Lord's good pleasure that no foundation should be made without great suffering for me, some in one way, some in another.

10. Having reached the house hired for us, as I said before, I meant to take possession at once, as I was in the habit of doing, that we might say the divine office, but father Mariano—it was he who was there—began to suggest delay, for he, to avoid giving me pain, would not tell me everything. But, as his reasons were insufficient, I saw where the difficulty lay—no permission had been given ; and so he asked me to allow the monastery to be endowed, or something of that kind ; but I do not remember what it was. At last he told me that the archbishop was not disposed to sanction a monastery of nuns—that he had never sanctioned one since he became archbishop, nor even during the many years he had been here and in Cordova, great servant of God as he is ; still less would he sanction a monastery founded in poverty.

11. This was nothing else but saying that the monastery was not to be founded at all. In the first place, it would have been very sad for me to do this in the city of Seville ; I might, however, have done it in those parts

<sup>19</sup> *Nec de cetero similia loca erigantur sine episcopi, in cujus diœcesi erigenda sunt, licentia prius obtenta* (Conc. Trident. Sess. xxv. c. iii).

of the country where I had founded monasteries endowed ; it was in small villages where they must have been so founded, or not at all, because there were no other means of sustaining them. In the next place, we had but one coin remaining after paying the expenses of the journey, and we had brought nothing with us except that which we had on, a tunic or two and a coif, and what served as a covering for us in the carriages ; and then to send back those who had come with us we should have had to borrow money. Antonio Gaytan had a friend there, and he lent us some, and father Mariano begged some for furnishing the house ; we had no house of our own, and thus the foundation seemed impossible.

12. The archbishop allowed us, but it must have been after urgent pressing on the part of Mariano, to have mass said on the feast of the Most Holy Trinity,<sup>20</sup> and that was the first. He sent a message to the effect that no bell was to be rung or even set up, but that was done already. We continued thus for a fortnight, and I know I had made up my mind, but for the father-commissary and father Mariano, to go back with my nuns, with very little regret, to Veas, to make the foundation in Caravaca. I had much more to bear with during those days—how long it was I know not, for I do not remember—I think it was more than a month—for our immediate departure would have been less intolerable, seeing that the existence of the monastery had been made known already. Father Mariano would never let me write to the archbishop, but he won him over by degrees himself, and by the help of letters of the father-commissary from Madrid.

13. One thing set me at ease from much scruple ; this was that mass had been said with the archbishop's leave,

<sup>20</sup> 29th May 1575.



and we always said our office in choir. He sent some people to visit me, and to tell me that he would come soon himself. It was one of his chaplains whom he had sent to say the first mass. I saw clearly by this that all that happened seemed to have no other end but to keep me in pain. The sources of that pain, however, were not in anything I or my nuns had to suffer, but in the distress of the father-commissary, who was much afflicted because he had ordered me to go thither ; and his distress would have been very great if any mishap had occurred, and there were many things to bring that about.

14. At this time, too, the fathers of the mitigation came to know why the foundation had been made.<sup>21</sup> I showed them my letters from the most reverend our father-general. They were satisfied with them, but if they had known what the archbishop was doing I do not think they would have been so ; but of that they knew nothing, for everybody believed that the foundation gave him very great joy and pleasure. It pleased God at last that he came to see us, when I spoke to him of the harm he was doing us. In the end he told me to do what I liked, and as I liked, and from that time forth was gracious and kind to us on every occasion that offered.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The Saint speaks of this visit in a letter to the general, written from Seville, 18th June 1575. The prior of the Carmelites of the Observance, Fray Miguel de Ulloa, was one of the visitors. They asked by what authority the monastery had been erected, and on being shown the letter of the general asked for a copy of it. The Saint knew that the copy might be made use of against her, and refused to grant it. (Note of Fray Antonio of S. Joseph.)

<sup>22</sup> The archbishop wished the nuns to come to Seville from the first, but he did not wish them to have a separate monastery of their own order. His purpose was to distribute them among the several monasteries within his jurisdiction, in order that by their fervour and good example those monasteries might be reformed and made better (*Idées*, ii. ch. 28).

## CHAPTER XXV

THE FOUNDATION OF THE GLORIOUS S. JOSEPH OF SEVILLE  
CONTINUED. WHAT HAPPENED WHEN GETTING A HOUSE  
OF OUR OWN

1. Troubles and discouragements.—2. Abandonment of the Saint.—
3. Her brother returns from the Indies.—4. Difficulties in finding a good house.—5. A house found.—6. Difficulties of taking possession.—7. The Saint takes possession of the new house.—
8. Troubles of Don Lorenzo.—9. The church arranged.—
10. Preparations for the opening.—11. Solemnities of the opening—12. A miracle.

1. No one would suppose that in a city so rich as Seville, and among a people so wealthy, I should have had less help in making a foundation than in any other place wherein I had been.<sup>1</sup> They did so little for me that I sometimes thought it would not be well for us to have a monastery there. I do not know whether it be that part of the earth where I have heard people say the devils, by the permission of God, have more power to tempt us.<sup>2</sup> They pressed hard upon me, for never in any

<sup>1</sup> The nuns lived in the most extreme poverty, sleeping on the floor; and the dishes for their table, lent by their neighbours for the first day, were sent for on the next and returned. In a few days a charitable lady, Doña Leonor de Valera, heard of their distress, and gave alms secretly to a good woman, whose devotion it was to succour the needy. But the poor Carmelites were hardly the better for the charity of Doña Leonor, though intended for them alone, because the good woman who was to carry it to them took it into her head that they were not in great want, and divided the alms among others (*Reforma*, bk. III. ch. xxxvii. 5).

<sup>2</sup> The Saint was a Castilian by birth and education, and was not without a certain prejudice against the people of Andalucia, against whom the proverb runs, *Jesus y Cruces y pedradas en los Andaluzes*. 'The Castilians, who are a most sincere sort of people, have made this proverb against the Andalusians, who are more crafty and deceitful, as living near

other place was I so weak and cowardly. Certainly I did not know myself, though I did not lose my ordinary trust in our Lord. I was, however, so different from what I usually am ever since I began these foundations, that I felt our Lord was in some measure withdrawing His hand, that He might abide in Himself, and that I might see that any courage I had before was not mine.

2. I remained there from the time already mentioned till a little before Lent,<sup>3</sup> I never thought of buying a house, and I had not the means of doing so, neither was there any one who would be surety for us. As for those who had spoken so much to the father, the apostolic visitor, about entering the order, and who had asked him to bring the nuns to Seville, they must have seen later that our life was too austere, and that they could not bear it. One only came to us, of whom I shall speak later.<sup>4</sup> And now the time was come to order me to leave Andalucia, for other matters were now pressing here.<sup>5</sup> It was a very great grief to me to leave the nuns without a house of their own, though I saw that I was of no use whatsoever there, for that grace which God gives me here<sup>6</sup> of finding some one to help us in our work God did not give me there.

the sea and learning of strangers. They call upon the holy name of Jesus to assist them against those people, make the sign of the cross as they do against the devil, and, thinking all this too little, add, they must throw stones at them' (*Pineda*, in voce 'Jesus').

<sup>3</sup> Ash Wednesday fell on 7th March in 1576, and the Saint had arrived in Seville on Thursday, 26th May 1575. See ch. xxiv. 9.

<sup>4</sup> See ch. xxvi. 3.

<sup>5</sup> The Saint had now been ordered by the provincial to leave Seville and take up her residence in some other monastery, the choice of which was, however, left to her.

<sup>6</sup> In Castille.

3. It pleased God that a brother of mine, Lorenzo de Cepeda,<sup>7</sup> arrived at this time from the Indies where he had been living for more than thirty-four years. He took it more to heart than I did that the nuns had no house of their own, and helped us much, especially in finding for us the house wherein they dwell now. I, too, was then much more urgent in my prayers to our Lord, begging Him not to let me leave them without a house, and I made the sisters pray to Him for the same object, and to the glorious S. Joseph; we had many processions and made many prayers to our Lady. Relying on these, and seeing my brother bent on helping us, I began to treat about the purchase of certain houses, and, though the matter seemed to be arranged, yet all came to nothing.

4. When I was in prayer one day, beseeching God to give them a house, seeing that they were His brides and were so anxious to please Him, He said to me, 'I have heard you; let me be.' I was very glad, considering the house already gained, so it was—His Majesty saved us from buying one with which everybody was pleased because the site was good; and it was so old and in so ruinous a state that we were buying merely the site, and that for a little less than the house we are in cost us. When the matter was settled, and nothing remained but the drawing up of the deeds, I was not at all satisfied; it seemed to me that the last word I had heard in prayer

<sup>7</sup> Don Lorenzo de Cepeda, born in 1519, left Spain for the New World in 1540 in company of his brothers Jerome and Peter. After various adventures he became in 1550 treasurer to the Viceroy at Quito. He married in 1556 doña Juana de Fuentes y Espinosa by whom he had seven children. After her death in 1567 he resolved to return to Europe but was prevented from doing so till 1575. He arrived in August of that year at Sanlúcar. He died, 26th June 1580 at Avila, and was buried in the chapel of S. Joseph's Convent.

was not fulfilled in that house, for that word, as I understood it, meant that God would give us a good house ; and it was His pleasure to do so, for the very person who had sold the house, notwithstanding his great gain thereby, made difficulties about the deeds when the time for signing them had come. We were, therefore, free to abandon our bargain without any fault on our part ; and it was a great grace of our Lord to us, for those who might have had to live in it would never in all their life have finished the repairs it needed ; it would have been a great trouble to them, and their means were scanty.

5. We had much help herein from a servant of God, who almost from the day of our arrival, when he knew that we had no one to say mass, came every day to say it, though his house was far away, and the heat excessive. He was Garci Alvarez,<sup>8</sup> a very good man, and respected in the city for his good deeds, and to which alone he was always devoted, and if he had been wealthy we should never have been in want. As he knew the house well, he thought it very foolish to give so much for it, told us so every day, and wanted us to speak about it no more. He and my brother went to see that wherein the sisters are now living, and returned so pleased with it—and justly so,

<sup>8</sup> This good priest became chaplain and confessor to the nuns, and in November of this year began to make the Saint uneasy. He interfered with the discipline of the house, kept his penitents long in the confessional, and introduced into the monastery any confessor a nun might wish to consult. When the prioress Mary of S. Joseph, remonstrated with him, he went about the city and consulted others as to whether a prioress could meddle with anything relating to confession. S. Teresa applied to Fray Pedro Fernandez, the visitor, who, being at Seville, inquired into the matter, and ordered the prioress to dismiss the indiscreet confessor. (Note of Fray Antonio of S. Joseph to Letter of 26th Nov. 1576. Mother Mary of S. Joseph says that although a servant of God he was ignorant, puzzle-headed, devoid of learning and experience.)



for our Lord meant it for us—that in two or three days the deeds were drawn up.

6. We had some trouble in moving into it, for they who were then living in it would not go out, and the Franciscan friars, who lived close by, came at once to beg of us not to go in on any account. If the deeds had not been drawn up and signed I might have thanked our Lord to have the contract set aside, for we were in danger of paying 6000 ducats, the price of the house, without being able to take possession. Not so did the prioress<sup>9</sup> look on it; she thanked God the bargain could

<sup>9</sup> The custom of exchanging the family name for that of a Saint introduced by S. Teresa has had one disagreeable result, namely that the same name having been chosen by so many religious, it is sometimes extremely difficult to distinguish between them. Among the names most frequently occurring, not only at different periods and in different countries, but among contemporary religious of one country is that of Mary of S. Joseph. Not less than six nuns, spiritual daughters of S. Teresa bore it, of whom four figure in her correspondence; even Don Manuel de Serrano y Sanz in his monumental work, *Apuntes para una biblioteca de Escritoras españolas desde el año 1401 al 1833* (2 vols. Madrid, 1905), is guilty of a confusion between Mary of S. Joseph, the sister of Don Julian Davila, nun of the convent of S. Joseph at Avila, and her namesake, nun of Malagon, the subject of this note. The daughter of Don Sebastian de Salazar and Doña Maria de Torres, she was born according to the register of the convent of Malagon at Molina, but according to her own records at Toledo, about 1548, and joined at an early age the household of Doña Luisa de la Cerda where S. Teresa made her acquaintance during a prolonged stay with Doña Luisa in 1562. So profound was the impression made by the Saint upon that miniature court, but especially upon the youthful Maria de Salazar that the entire household refrained from frivolity and pleasure and became a model of piety and a source of edification. Maria de Salazar met the Saint again in 1568, and soon afterwards asked for the religious habit at Malagon, where she was clothed on 9th May 1570 and professed on 10th June of the following year. The Saint took her to Veas and afterwards to Seville, where she made her prioress, and while engaged elsewhere she never failed to direct her by letter and to keep her informed of the course of events. The sixty letters addressed by S. Teresa to Mary of S. Joseph and now preserved at Valladolid are second

not be broken,<sup>10</sup> for His Majesty gave her more faith and courage than to me in all that related to that house, and she must have greater courage than I have in everything, for she is much better than I am. We were in this trouble for more than a month ; then it pleased God that we should remove, the prioress and myself with the two other nuns ; we did so by night, and in great fear, that the friars might know nothing about it before we took possession ; they who went with us said that they thought every shadow they saw was a friar.

7. Early in the morning the good Garci Alvarez, who came with us, said the first mass,<sup>11</sup> and we had no fear now. O Jesus, what fears I have had when taking

in importance only to those written to Father Jerome Gratian. From time to time a cloud passed over their friendship, S. Teresa reproaching the prioress of Seville for her astuteness ; but no sooner had it lifted than she again poured out her heart into that of her confidential friend. The latter had her full share in the troubles of the Reform : in 1579 she was deprived of her office and treated with unjustifiable rigour ; but after six months her innocence triumphed, and she was reappointed. After S. Teresa's death, Mary of S. Joseph undertook a foundation at Lisbon where she became involved in the troubles of Father Gratian, and also in the struggle of Ven. Anne of Jesus for the approbation by the Holy See of the Constitutions of the Saint for the nuns. Both these affairs proved a source of keen suffering which lasted until the end of her life. In 1603, she was transferred to the convent of Cuerva near Toledo, the prioress of which was prejudiced against her, and there she died in the odour of sanctity, 19th October of the same year. She was a ready writer, and has left most important works, on which see Serrano y Sanz, l. c. ii. 333 : the *Libro de recreaciones*, or what is preserved of it, has been published in *El Monte Carmelo*, Burgos, 1909. *Oeuvres*, iii. 376.

<sup>10</sup> The house belonged to Pedro Pablo, a minor canon of the Cathedral, and was in the street called La Pageria ; until its demolition in 1882 it was called *Casa de Santa Teresa*. The house was good, but the neighbourhood evil, and the nuns removed to another in 1586 (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xlvi. 1).

<sup>11</sup> Julian of Avila had returned in the beginning of June 1575, as appears from letters of 4th June and 19th October 1575.

possession ! If when doing no evil, but serving God, such fears are felt, what must it be with those persons who go about doing evil against God and their neighbour ? I know not what gain they can have, or what pleasure they can seek, with such odds against them.

8. My brother was not here then, for he had taken sanctuary on account of a certain mistake made in the deed,<sup>12</sup> which was drawn up in a hurry,—a mistake that involved a great loss to the monastery—and as my brother was our security they wished to take him to prison. As he was a stranger his imprisonment would have distressed us, and as it was we were in trouble, for until he assigned some of his property as security there was trouble enough. Later on the matter was arranged satisfactorily, though, to give us more trouble, we did not escape litigation for a time. We shut ourselves up in certain rooms on the ground floor, and my brother was there all day among the workmen, and supplied us with food, and indeed had done so for many days before, for, as everybody did not know of the monastery, because it was a private house, we received but scanty alms except from the prior of the Carthusians of Las Cuevas, a great servant of God. He was a native of Avila, and of the Pantoja family.<sup>13</sup> God inspired him with such great

<sup>12</sup> The notary who drew up the deeds made the mistake, as appears from a letter of the Saint to Fray Mariano, 9th May 1576. Her brother, Don Lorenzo, took refuge in the monastery of the Carmelites with Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, and was there on the 29th April 1576, as the Saint writes of it on that day.

<sup>13</sup> Don Fernando de Pantoja, born at Seville, belonged to a noble family of Avila whose palace is still one of the principal buildings of that town. He entered in 1518 the charterhouse of Santa Maria de las Cuevas at Triana near Seville and made his profession in the following year. Prior at Aniago and Cazalla, near Valladolid and Seville respectively, he was elected junior visitor of the province of Catalonia.

affection for us from the time we came here, and I believe it will last, so that he will help us to the end of his life. It is only reasonable, therefore, my sisters, if you should read this, that you should pray to God for one who has done so much for us, and for others also, whether he be living or dead. I write this for that end : to this holy man we owe much.

9. We were thus occupied for more than a month—so I believe, but my memory is so bad in reckoning time, and so I might be wrong ; more or less must always be understood when I speak of days, and it does not matter much. My brother was very busy during this month in converting certain rooms into a church, and in furnishing it throughout, so that none of the labour fell upon us.<sup>14</sup>

10. When it was finished I wished to have the Most Holy Sacrament reserved without noise—for I very much dislike giving trouble when it can be helped—and said so to the father Garci Alvarez. He spoke about it to the father prior of Las Cuevas, and they considered our affairs as if they were their own. Their opinion was that it could not be done as I wished, for if the monastery

In 1567 he became prior of Las Cuevas, and was appointed second, and in 1571, first visitor of the province of Castille. Together with some other religious of his order he set himself against certain innovations in the way of government in which he thought to foresee the germs of relaxation. He was already over eighty years old when he made the acquaintance of S. Teresa who had the highest admiration for his sanctity, as he also had of hers. She always speaks of him in terms of deep veneration, and presented him with a relic singularly dear to her, a fragment of one of the thorns with which our Lord was crowned. From her he learnt to have devotion to S. Joseph and S. Anne and built chapels in his charterhouse in their honour. He died 8th July 1582, less than three months before S. Teresa. *Oeuvres*, iv. 57, *note*.

<sup>14</sup> During this time S. Teresa sat for Fray Juan de la Miseria, who had been commanded by Father Jerome Gratian to paint her portrait. See ch. xvii. 5, *note*.

was to be known in Seville the Most Holy must be solemnly reserved, and they went to the archbishop. It was settled among them all that the Most Holy Sacrament should be brought with great solemnity from one of the parish churches. The archbishop ordered the clergy and certain confraternities to join the procession, and the streets to be decorated.

11. The good Garci Alvarez adorned our cloister, which I have said served us then for a passage, and the church with the utmost care. He prepared handsome altars and arranged many devices. Among these was a fountain of orange-flower water, which we had neither wished for nor had anything to do with ; it was afterwards a great joy to us. It was a comfort to us to witness such solemn preparations for our feast, so much decoration of the streets, the music, and the minstrelsy. The holy prior of Las Cuevas told me that he had never seen anything like it in Seville, and that he looked on it all as being visibly the work of God : he was in the procession himself, which was an unusual act on his part. The archbishop carried the Most Holy Sacrament.<sup>15</sup> You see here, my children, the poor Carmelites honoured of all,<sup>16</sup> who shortly before seemed as if they could not get a drop of water, though there was plenty in the river. The people came in crowds.

12. A strange thing happened, according to the account of those who saw it. After many salvos of artillery and rockets discharged, when the procession was

<sup>15</sup> 3rd June 1576, on the Sunday within the octave of the Ascension. See below, ch. xxvi. 1.

<sup>16</sup> At the end of the function the Saint knelt before the archbishop and begged his blessing, but to her great confusion the archbishop, in the presence of a great crowd, begged the Saint to bless him (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xlvi. 1).



over and night was coming on, the people wished to have more, when some powder, I know not how, took fire ; and it was a great marvel to all that he who had it was not killed. A huge flame rushed upwards to the top of the cloisters, the ceiling of which was covered with silk hangings, which everybody expected to see burnt to ashes ; but it was not damaged in the slightest degree, though made of purple and gold. But what I am going to say is astonishing : the stonework of the cloisters close under the silk was black with smoke, while the silk above remained unsoiled as if the fire had never reached it. Everybody was amazed at the sight. The nuns gave thanks to our Lord, for they could never have paid for the hangings. Satan must have been so vexed at the solemnity which had been kept, and at the sight of another house of God, that he would have his revenge somehow, and His Majesty would not let him. May He be blessed for ever and ever ! Amen.

## CHAPTER XXVI

CONTINUATION OF THE SAME FOUNDATION OF S. JOSEPH IN THE CITY OF SEVILLE. RELATES SOME VERY NOTEWORTHY DOINGS CONCERNING THE FIRST NUN WHO ENTERED THERE

1. The Saint quits Seville.—2. Her stay there full of trials.—3. The first novice in Seville falsely accused when a child.—4. And cruelly treated.—5. Her innocence manifested.—6. Beginning of her vocation.—7. She refuses to marry.—8. And is most cruelly treated.—9. Her goodness discovered.—10. A vision.—11. Sees Carmelites for the first time.—12. Confesses to Father Gratian.—13. And escapes into the monastery.—14. Her joy and bodily health.—15. Assailed by temptations.—16. And delivered.

1. You can well imagine, my daughters, the joy we had that day. Mine, I may say, was very great, especially when I saw that I was leaving the sisters in so good

a house, so well placed, the monastery known, and with nuns in it who could pay the greater part of the sum it cost, so that by the help of those who should come to fill up the number, however small their dowry, they might live without being in debt. What gave me the greatest joy of all was, that I had had a share in their troubles, and when I had to rest myself I went away. This festival took place on the Sunday before Pentecost, 1576. Immediately after, on the Monday, I left the place, to escape the great heat then beginning, and to avoid travelling, if possible, in Whitsuntide, and to keep the feast in Malagon, where I wished much to stop a day ; that is why I made such haste to be gone.<sup>1</sup>

2. It was not our Lord's pleasure that I should hear mass even once in the church ; the joy of the nuns was seriously disturbed by my departure, which they felt much. We had been together for a year, and had suffered so much, as I have already said ; but I do not recount here our greatest troubles. I believe myself that, with the exception of the foundation in Avila, with which none other is to be compared, I never had so much to endure anywhere as here, because my trials were for the most part interior. May His Divine Majesty grant that He may be always served in this house ! as I trust He will be, for if it be so everything else is as nothing. His

<sup>1</sup> The Saint left Seville 4th June 1576, attended by her brother Don Lorenzo. Fray Gregorio Nazianzen, now professed, went with her. She was in Malagon on the 11th, where she was still in the beginning of July. By order of Fray Jerome she went to Avila to complete the term of her priorship, after which she ought to have gone to Salamanca where she was conventual. But it was finally decided she should go to Toledo, whither she went, bringing with her as her companion and secretary the venerable Ann of S. Bartholomew. On the 9th day of August the Saint was in Toledo, watching the storm that had burst on the order, and waiting for the calm.

Majesty has begun to draw good souls into the house. As to those in it whom I took with me, five in number, I have already said how good they were : that is only a part of what might be said of them, and that the least.

3. I will speak of the first who entered, because her story will give you pleasure. She was the daughter of most pious Christians, her father a highlander.<sup>2</sup> When she was still a child, about seven years of age, an aunt of hers begged her mother to let her have her, as she had no children of her own. She took her home, and must have caressed her and shown her love for her, as was natural, for certain women in her service, who, before the child came, had hopes of inheriting some portion of her property, seeing clearly from the love shown her that the aunt would leave her the greater part, agreed together to have her removed out of the way by a diabolic act, which was, to accuse the child of an intent to murder the aunt, and of having given some money to one of them for the purchase of corrosive sublimate. This was told to the aunt, and as all the three said the same thing she believed them ; the mother of the child, who is a most excellent woman, did so also.

4. The mother took the child and carried her home, thinking that in her she was nurturing a very wicked woman. Beatriz of the Mother of God—for that is her name—told me that for more than a year her mother continued to whip and torture her, and to make her sleep on the bare floor, because she wanted her to confess so great a wickedness. When the poor child said she had done no evil, and that she did not know what corrosive

<sup>2</sup> Alonso Gomez y Vero, a native either of the Sierra Nevada or the Sierra Morena, and Juana Gomez. The child bore the name Chaves, probably that of her grandmother. *Oeuvres*, iv. 64.

sublimate was, her mother thought the worse of her, as one possessed of a spirit to hide her sin. The poor mother was distressed when she saw her thus hardened in her denial, thinking she could never be reformed. It is strange the child did not accuse herself to escape such chastisements, but as she was innocent God gave her strength always to speak the truth.

5. But, as His Majesty helps those who do no wrong, He chastised two of those women so severely that they seemed to be mad; they sent for the child secretly to come to her aunt, and begged her to forgive them, and unsaid everything now they were at death's door. The third woman did as much—she died in childbirth. In a word, all the three died in great pain: it was a chastisement for that which they had made the innocent child to suffer. I know all this, not from herself only, for afterwards her mother, when she saw her a nun, distressed at the evil treatment she had received at her hands, recounted it to me with other matters; she had been most cruelly treated. God permitted the mother, who had no other child, and who was a very good Christian, to be thus cruel to her own daughter, whom she loved exceedingly. She is a most truthful and pious person.

6. When the child was a little more than twelve years of age she read in some book the life of S. Anne,<sup>3</sup> and conceived a great devotion to the saints of Mount Carmel, it being said there that the mother of S. Anne—I think her name was Emerenciana—used to converse often with them. Hence her devotion to the order of our Lady became so strong that she made a vow of chastity, and promised to become a Carmelite nun. Whenever she could she spent many hours alone and in

<sup>3</sup> By the Carthusian Pedro de Orlando.

prayer. God and our Lady gave her great and very special graces. She wanted to become a nun at once, but durst not on account of her father and mother ; besides, she did not know where to find the order, which was strange, for, though there was a monastery of the mitigation in Seville,<sup>4</sup> she never knew of it till she heard of our monasteries many years afterwards.

7. When she was old enough to be married her father and mother considered on whom they should bestow her, she being still very young. They had now, however, no other child, for her brothers were all dead, and she, the least cherished, alone remained. She had one brother living when that affair happened of which I have been speaking, and he had defended her, saying that the story was not to be believed. When the marriage was already settled they spoke to her about it, thinking that she would make no objection ; but she told them that she had made a vow never to marry, and that she never would be married even if they were to kill her.

8. Her father and mother took it into their heads that she had misbehaved herself in some way, and therefore would not marry : it was a delusion of Satan, or a self-deception which God permitted to make a martyr of her. So they having promised her in marriage, and seeing what an affront it was to the bridegroom, beat her so much and treated her so cruelly—even wishing to strangle her, for they used to throttle her—that it was fortunate they did not kill her. God, who had chosen her for other things, gave her life. She told me that at last she scarcely felt the ill-treatment at all, for she used to think of the sufferings of S. Agnes, which our Lord

<sup>4</sup> Founded in 1513 under the title of the Incarnation.



brought to her recollection, and that she rejoiced to suffer something for His sake, and did nothing else but offer up her wrongs to Him. They thought she would die, for she was three months in bed unable to move.

9. It seems very strange that a young girl who never left her mother's side, and whose father, as I have heard, was so prudent, could be thought so ill of, for she was always pious and modest, and so charitable that whatever she could get she gave away in alms. When our Lord wishes to give any one the grace to suffer He has many ways of doing so. Some years after this, however, He made them see the goodness of their child ; they would then give her what she wanted for her alms-deeds, and the persecutions were changed into caresses. Nevertheless, everything was a trial to her because of her wish to be a nun, and so she lived on, as she told me, in great distress and sadness of heart.

10. Some thirteen or fourteen years before father Gratian went to Seville, and when there was no talk of barefooted Carmelite friars, this happened :—She was with her father and mother and two women from the neighbourhood when a friar of our order came in, clad in serge as they are now, and barefooted. They say his countenance was cheerful and venerable, but he was so old, however, that his beard which was long, looked like silver threads ; he stood close beside her, and began to address her in a language which neither she nor any of the others understood, and when he had done speaking he made the sign of the cross over her three times, saying, ‘ Beatriz, God make thee strong,’ and went away. While he remained nobody stirred : they were amazed. Her father asked her who he was. She thought that he knew

him.<sup>5</sup> They rose up in haste to look for him, but they saw him no more. She was greatly consoled herself, and all were amazed, for what they had seen was the work of God, and in consequence of it they made much of her, as I have just said. All these years, I believe fourteen, passed away, she herself always serving our Lord, and praying Him to fulfil her desire.

11. She was in great distress when the father-master Fray Jerome Gratian came to the neighbourhood. One day she went to hear a sermon in one of the churches of Triana—it was there her father was living—not knowing who the preacher was to be, and there saw the father-master Gratian go to receive the benediction. When she saw him in his habit and barefooted she thought at once of him whom she had seen before ; the habit was the same, but the age and the countenance were not, for father Gratian was not yet thirty years of age. She told me that she almost fainted away in the excess of her joy, for, though she had heard that there was a monastery in Triana, she did not know it belonged to the Carmelites.<sup>6</sup> From that day forth she tried to go to confession to father Gratian ; it was the will of God, however, that she should have no little trouble, for she applied to him as often as twelve times—it might be more or less—but he never would hear her confession. She was young and beautiful, for she must have been

<sup>5</sup> She admitted in after times to her confessors and others whom she could trust that it was the great prophet Elias. It was a tradition in the order also that Beatriz had then a vision of the prophet of Mount Carmel (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xxxviii. 8).

<sup>6</sup> The Discalced Carmelites founded, 6th January 1574, a convent at Triana called *Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* from a hermitage under that title given them by the Archbishop. Father Jerome Gratian was Prior and Father Mariano master of novices. *Oeuvres*, iv. 69, note.

then not twenty-seven, and he, being extremely careful, would not have any relations with persons like her.

12. One day in the church—she too was most careful herself—a woman asked her what the matter was, for she was weeping. She said that she had made so many efforts to speak to that father, who was then hearing confessions, and all to no purpose. The woman took her to the confessional, and asked him to hear her confession ; and so she made a general confession to him. He, when he saw so noble a soul, was greatly comforted himself, and comforted her too by telling her that Carmelite nuns might be coming, and that he would make them receive her immediately ; and so it came to pass, and the first thing he ordered me to do was to receive her the first of all, for he was satisfied with her spirit, and told her so. When we came she took much pains to keep our arrival from the knowledge of her father and mother, for if they knew of it she would have had no opportunity of coming to us. And so, on the very day of the feast of the Most Holy Trinity,<sup>7</sup> she left the women who used to attend her behind, for her mother did not go with her to confession, and the monastery of the Carmelites, where she always confessed, and to which she gave great alms, as well as her father and mother for her sake, was at some distance.

13. She had arranged with a very great servant of God to take her, and told the women who used to attend her to leave her, as the woman with whom she was going out was very well-known in Seville as a great servant of God, given to good works, and that she would return

<sup>7</sup> Three days after the arrival of the nuns, the day when the first mass was being said.

immediately. They accordingly let her take with her the habit and mantle of frieze ; how she carried them I know not, unless it was her joy that made everything light. Her only fear was that somebody might stop her and find out what she was carrying, for she was walking out in a way most unusual for her. What cannot the love of God do ? She had now no respect of persons, and thought of nothing but of the possibility of her desire being frustrated : we opened the door to her at once. I sent word to her mother, who came as if beside herself, but said that she saw that God was gracious to her child, and, though she was distressed because she could not speak to her yet she was not immoderately so, as others are ; on the contrary, she gave us at once very large alms.

14. The bride of Jesus Christ began to rejoice in the happiness so much desired. She was so humble, and so pleased with whatever she had to do, that we found some trouble in taking the broom out of her hands. She who had been made so much of at home found all her recreation in hard work. The great happiness she felt caused her to gain flesh at once, which so struck her father and mother that they were glad to see her in the monastery.

15. Some two or three months before the time of her profession, that she might not have so much joy without suffering, she fell into most grievous temptations ; not because she was not determined to make her profession, but because she thought the religious life most hard to bear. She forgot all the years during which she had suffered so much to gain the blessing she now had, and Satan tormented her so cruelly that she could not help herself. Nevertheless doing violence to herself she

conquered him, and in the midst of her torments made a resolution to be professed.<sup>8</sup> Three days before her profession our Lord, who would not let her strength be tried any longer, visited and consoled her in a most special way, and put Satan to flight.

16. She was now so consoled that during those three days she seemed to be beside herself with joy, and for good reasons—the grace she had received was great. Within a few days after she entered the monastery her father died, and her mother took the habit in the same house,<sup>9</sup> giving to it by way of alms all she possessed. The mother and child are living in the greatest joy, edifying all the nuns, and serving Him who has bestowed upon them so great a grace. Moreover a year had not passed by when there came another, very much against the will of her father and mother.<sup>10</sup> Thus our Lord goes on, filling this His house with souls so eager to serve Him that neither the austerities nor the strictness of enclosure can stand in their way. May He be blessed for ever and ever! May He be praised for ever and ever! Amen.

<sup>8</sup> Beatriz of the Mother of God made her profession 29th September 1576; in the following year after the Calced fathers had mixed themselves up with the government of the house, she gave false evidence against the prioress, who in consequence was deposed, and against Father Jerome Gratian, while she herself was nominated prioress. But the falsehood of the accusations having been proved, Mary of S. Joseph was reinstated by Fray Angel de Salazar. It took Beatriz some time to see her wrongs, but being convinced she humbled herself and asked pardon. The remainder of her life was most edifying. She died in 1624 at the age of 86. *Oeuvres*, iv. 73 n.

<sup>9</sup> She made her profession, 10th November 1577, as lay sister under the name Juana de la Cruz. A cousin of Beatriz entered soon after, taking the name Leonor of S. Angelus. The three together gave as dowry house property of the annual value of 100 ducats. *Oeuvres*, l. c.

<sup>10</sup> Bernarda of S. Joseph, who took the habit 10th March 1576; l. c.



## CHAPTER XXVII

TREATS OF THE FOUNDATION IN THE CITY OF CARAVACA. THE BLESSED SACRAMENT IS RESERVED ON NEW YEAR'S DAY OF THE SAME YEAR 1576. IT BEARS THE TITLE OF THE GLORIOUS SAINT JOSEPH

1. Caravaca.—2. The Saint undertakes the foundation.—3. Difficulties.—4. The final arrangements made.—5. The lords of Caravaca claim the jurisdiction over the monastery.—6. The nuns intended for Caravaca.—7. Sent out.—8. Evils of melancholy.—9. Nuns to guard against laxity.—10. Exhortation to the nuns.—11. No one to be refused because she is poor.—12. How nuns ought to dispose of their wealth.—13. The Saint confesses her integrity.—14. And the hand of God.—15. The hardships endured by the Saint.—16. Her affection for the nuns.—17. The monasteries founded with the sanction of the General.—18. The foundations stopped.—19. The Saint's joy.—20. The Saint rejoiced in her troubles.—21. Reasons of her writing.—22. Interrupted and resumed.—23. Ceases from writing.—24. And asks for prayers.

1. WHEN I was in S. Joseph's, Avila, about to depart for the foundation in Veas, of which I have spoken already,<sup>1</sup> with everything settled except the immediate preparations for the journey, there came to me a special messenger from a lady who lived in Caravaca, called Doña Catalina,<sup>2</sup> to tell me that three young women, after hearing a sermon by a father of the Society of Jesus, had

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> Doña Catalina de Otorola was the wife of the licentiate Muñoz, a member of the council of the Indies and of the council of Castille. The young ladies were Doña Francisca de Saojosa, a cousin of Doña Catalina; Doña Francisca de Moya and Doña Francisca de Tauste (*Ribera*, iii. 7). The daughter of Don Rodrigo de Moya was called Doña Francisca de Cuellar, as the daughters did not always bear their father's name. Her mother was Doña Luisa de Avila. She was twenty-four years old when she took the habit, in 1576, professed in October 1577, died in August 1605 (*Fray Antonio of S. Joseph*).

come to her house, determined never to quit it till a monastery should be built in that place. It was an act which they must have arranged with that lady, who is the person who helped them in that foundation. They were children of the greatest persons in that town.<sup>3</sup> One was the daughter of Rodrigo de Moya, a very great servant of God, and a man of great prudence. They had money enough among them for a work like this. They knew what our Lord had done in the foundation of these monasteries, having heard of them from the fathers of the Society of Jesus, who always countenanced and helped us.

2. When I saw the earnestness and fervour of these souls, who sent so far for the order of our Lady, my devotion was kindled, and I felt a great wish to further their good intention. Having ascertained that the place was near Veas, I took with me more nuns than I was in the habit of doing, purposing to go thither when the foundation in Veas should be settled ; for, judging by the letters, I thought we could not fail in making the arrangement.

3. But my plans were of little use, for our Lord had decreed otherwise, as I said in the history of the foundation of Seville.<sup>4</sup> They had obtained permission of the council of the orders, but it was such as made me give it up, though I had resolved to go thither. The truth is, that when I found out at Veas where the place was,<sup>5</sup> that it was so far away, and what a labour it would

<sup>3</sup> Tres donzellas nobles (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xlv. 1). When they went to live with Doña Catalina they had not yet made up their mind which order to choose. Father Leiva, a Jesuit, spoke to them of S. Teresa and her convents.

<sup>4</sup> Ch. xxiv. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Caravaca is in the old kingdom of Murcia, and famous for a miraculous cross.

be to visit the nuns, and that superiors might take it amiss, I was not very willing to go and make that foundation. However, as I had raised certain expectations, I begged the father Julian of Avila and Antonio Gaytan to go and see how the matter stood, and to put an end to it if they should think it right to do so. They found it had been very much neglected, not by those who were to become nuns, but by Doña Catalina, who was the chief person concerned in it, and who lodged the young women in a room by themselves, as if they were already withdrawn from the world.

4. The nuns were so earnest, especially two of them—I am speaking of those who were to become nuns—that they completely won over Julian of Avila and Antonio Gaytan—so much so that they had the deeds drawn up before they returned, and came away leaving the nuns in great joy. They were so pleased themselves with them and the country that they did nothing else but say so, at the same time admitting the road was bad. When I saw the matter settled<sup>6</sup> but the licence delayed, I sent back again the good Antonio Gaytan, who, out of affection for me, willingly undertook all this trouble. He and Julian of Avila were very eager about the foundation; in truth, we must thank them for this foundation, for if they had not gone thither and arranged it all I could have done very little for it. I told him to go and put up the turn with the grating where they were to take possession, and where the nuns were to remain till they found a proper house. He remained, therefore, many days there; it was in the house of Rodrigo de Moya, who, as I said

<sup>6</sup> The contract whereby the young ladies bound themselves to contribute, one 8,000, another 1,000, the third 2,500 and the fourth 2,000 ducats, bears the date of 10th March 1575. *Oeuvres*, iv. 420.

before, was the father of one of the young girls, and who had given us a part of it. He was there many days exceedingly well pleased, busy with this.

5. When they had obtained the licence, and when I was about setting out on my journey, I heard that by one of the clauses thereof the house was to be subject to the commandery, and that the nuns were to yield obedience to the knights.<sup>7</sup> That I could not allow, because it was to be a house of the order of our Lady of Carmel, and accordingly they applied for another licence; and here, as in the case of Veas, they could not get it. But the king now reigning, Don Philip,<sup>8</sup> was so good to me that on my writing to him he gave orders for the issuing of the licence, so ready is he to help those religious who, he knows, keep their rule; for when he had heard of our way of living in these monasteries, and of our observance of the primitive rule, he helped us in everything: and so I earnestly beg of you, my daughters, always to make special intercessions for his majesty, as we are doing at present. Then, as another application had to be made for a licence, I departed for Seville, by order of the father-provincial,<sup>9</sup> who was then as now,

<sup>7</sup> The jurisdiction of Caravaca was divided between the knights and the bishop of Cartagena, at this time Don Gomez Tapeta; but the Saint did not trouble the bishop, and afterwards, when the vicar-general of Don Gomez raised some difficulties about the monastery, the Saint wrote from Seville, 19th February 1576, to Don Rodrigo de Moya, to tell him that he need not be distressed at the interference of the vicar-general. The monastery was safe (note of Fray Antonio on Letter of 19th February 1576).

<sup>8</sup> Philip II, for five years king of England, as husband of Mary the queen.

<sup>9</sup> Fray Jerome was visitor apostolic of the Carmelites of Andalucia, and provincial of the barefooted Carmelites, men and women, of the Reform of S. Teresa in Castille and Andalucia, by delegation of the nuncio, who gave him the title of provincial since 3rd August 1575.

the father-master, Fray Jerome Gratian of the Mother of God, as I said before ; and the poor children continued shut up till the following New Year's Day. It was in February they had sent the message to Avila.<sup>10</sup> The licence now was very soon obtained, but, as I was so far away, and in the midst of so much trouble myself,<sup>11</sup> I could not help them, and was very sorry for them. They wrote to me very often in their great distress, and I could not bear to keep them in that state any longer.

6. As it was impossible for me to go myself, both because of the great distance and because this foundation<sup>12</sup> was not yet completely made, the father-master Fray Jerome Gratian, who, as I have said before, was apostolic visitor at the time, resolved that the nuns who were intended for the foundation there, and who were then in S. Joseph's of Malagon, should go thither, though I could not go with them.

7. I arranged that the prioress<sup>13</sup> should be one, who

This was a beginning of the separation which afterwards took place between the friars of the mitigation and those of S. Teresa. Of the latter Fray Jerome was the first provincial, but that election was made 4th March 1581 (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xli. 2 ; bk. v. ch. ix. 5).

<sup>10</sup> The Saint was in Valladolid 4th January 1575, on the point of starting for Avila, where she intended to stay but a day or two, going thence to Toledo. (See her letter to Don Teutonio, of 6th January 1575). She must therefore have made a longer stay in Avila than she intended if the messenger of Doña Catalina found her there in February 1575.

<sup>11</sup> This was the dispute between the old friars and those of her reform. (See below, § 18.)

<sup>12</sup> Of Seville.

<sup>13</sup> The Saint had first appointed Mary of S. Joseph (Salazar) prioress of Caravaca but ultimately destined her for Seville and chose Anne of S. Albert for Caravaca who was sent from Seville, where she was at this time, and was to take with her from Malagon the nuns whom the Saint had left there for the foundation in Caravaca. These were Barbara of the Holy Ghost, sub-prioress ; Anne of the Incarnation, Juana of



I was confident would do exceedingly well, for she is much better than I am. Taking with them whatever was necessary, they departed with two of our fathers of the barefooted Carmelites,<sup>14</sup> for the father Julian of Avila and Antonio Gaytan had for some days previously returned to their homes, and I did not like them to go with them, because the place was so far off and the weather so bad, for it was now the end of December. The nuns on their arrival were received with great joy in the place, particularly by those who were shut up so closely. The monastery was founded, and the Most Holy Sacrament carried in on the feast of the Name of Jesus, 1576.<sup>15</sup> Two of them took the habit at once; the other was much given to melancholy, and the evil must have been increased by her confinement, to say nothing of the closeness of it and her penances; it was settled that she should return home with one of her sisters.<sup>16</sup>

8. Behold, my daughters, the judgments of God, and the obligation we are under to serve Him, seeing that

S. Jerome, and Catharine of the Assumption (*Ribera*, iii. 7). Anne of S. Albert was the daughter of Juan de Avila and Ana de Salcedo, born in Malagon, and made her profession in the monastery there in the year 1569. There are three letters among those of S. John of the Cross addressed to her as prioress of Caravaca, and from the last of them she seems to have been prioress in 1588. She died in 1624.

<sup>14</sup> Father Ambrose of S. Peter, sub-prior of Almodovar, and another whose name is not on record. They arrived 18th December 1575.

<sup>15</sup> 'On the first day of the year, which is that of the Circumcision and of the Name of Jesus, under the patronage of the glorious S. Joseph' (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xlv. 2).

<sup>16</sup> She put on the habit, however, in about two or three months after this, when Fray Jerome came to visit the house, receiving it at his hands. The names of the three were, Doña Francisca de Cuellar (Frances of the Cross); Doña Francisca de Tauste (Frances of S. Joseph); Doña Francisca de Saojossa (Frances of the Mother of God), the first two made profession 27th October 1577, while the third who had for a while abandoned her design, made it 1st June 1578.

He has allowed us to persevere and make our profession, and to dwell for ever in the house of God as daughters of the *Virgín*. His Majesty made use of the good-will of this lady and of her property, but, at the moment when she was about to enter on the fruition of that which she had so much desired, her strength failed her and her low spirits prevailed, on which, my children, we often lay the blame of our imperfections and caprices.

9. May His Majesty pour down His grace abundantly on us, for then nothing will hinder us from advancing ever more and more in His service, and also protect and defend us all, so that what has been well begun, as it has been his good pleasure to have made a beginning in such poor women as we are, may not prove a failure through our weakness. I implore you in His name, my sisters and my daughters, to pray to our Lord for this, and let every one of those who shall hereafter enter look on herself as if the primitive rule of the order of the *Virgin our Lady* had its beginning in her, and never in any way consent to any mitigation of it. Consider that the door is opened for very great laxity by very little things, and that the world may come in before you are aware of it. Remember that what you possess in peace has been wrought in poverty and toil; and if you look deeply into it you will see that most of these houses were generally founded, not by man, but by the mighty hand of God, and that His Majesty is most ready to carry on the work He has begun if we do not hinder Him. Where do you think a poor woman like myself, under obedience, without a farthing in the world, or any one to help her, found the means to do so great a work? My brother, who helped in the foundation of *Seville*, had

some means, courage, and good dispositions wherewith to help us, but he was then in the Indies.

10. Behold, my daughters, behold the hand of God : He did not honour me in this because of my illustrious birth ; in whatever light you may look upon it, you will find it to be His work. It is not right we should in any way impair it, even were it to cost us our life, our good name, and our peace ; still less when we have all these together, for life is to live in such a way as not to be afraid of death, or of anything that may happen while it lasts, in the possession of that continual joyfulness which you now have all of you, and of this prosperity that never can be greater, consisting in the utter absence of the fear of poverty, or rather in the desire of it. Then, is there anything with which you can compare the peace wherein you live, whether inward or outward ? It is in your power to live and die in it as you saw them die who have died in these houses. Then, if you always pray God to further this work, having no confidence in yourselves—if you put your trust in Him, and are courageous—seeing that His Majesty loves it, He will not withhold His mercy.

11. Have no fear that you will ever be in want of anything ; never fail to receive those who come to be nuns merely because they are without worldly goods, if they are virtuous, when you are satisfied with their good desires and their abilities, and they come not simply for a place to live in, but rather to serve God in greater perfection ; for God, on the other hand, will give you that twofold which you should have had with them. I have had great experience in this. His Majesty knows well that, so far as I can remember, I never failed to receive one because she was poor, provided

I was pleased with her in other respects. They are my witnesses, and they are many, who have been received simply for God, as you know yourselves. And I can assure you that my joy was not so great when I received those that brought much with them as it was when I received those who came for God's sake alone : on the contrary I had fears about the former, while those who were poor cheered my spirit, and gave me so much pleasure as to make me weep for joy : that is the truth. Then, if when we had to buy and build our houses He helped us also therein, why should He not help us now that we have wherewithal to live ? Believe me, my daughters, you will suffer loss there where you think you are gaining.

12. When one comes with means, under no obligations to bestow them on others, who perhaps need them not, it is right she should give them to you by way of alms ;<sup>17</sup> I confess that if she did otherwise she would show but little affection for you. Always, however, make her who comes understand that she must act herein as learned men shall advise her for the greater service of God, for it would be a serious evil if we claimed the property of anyone that came to us for any other end but that. We make a much greater gain—that is, we act in much greater perfection—when she does that which is a duty to God, than by receiving anything she may bring

<sup>17</sup> The Saint was always willing to admit the poor in their poverty, but she was inexorable with the wealthy who attempted to place their children in the monasteries and retained their dowers. In a letter to the prioress of Seville of 26th September 1576 she forbids the reception of Blanca of Jesus Maria without her dower, though she was the daughter of Doña Leonor de Valera, who had given alms to the house when it was in distress. The Saint says that the father was a man who would never give a farthing if he could help it. His greed may be the explanation of his wife's conduct in employing others to administer her alms. (See ch. xxv. 1, note <sup>1</sup>.)

with her, for we all of us have no aim, and God grant we may never have, other than the service of His Majesty in and by everything.

13. Though I am myself a wretched and wicked woman, I say this to His honour and glory, and that you may have joy in the way wherein these His houses have been founded—never in treating about them, never in the doing of anything that had to be done in relation to them even when I thought I should not prosper with any of them unless I turned aside from my intention, would I in any way do, nor have I done—I am speaking of these foundations—anything whatever, if I but knew it, that swerved by a hair's breadth from the will of our Lord, according to the directions of my confessors, who, since I have been thus employed have always been, as you know, very learned men and great servants of God; and I do not remember that I ever even thought of following any other course.

14. Perhaps I deceive myself—I may have done much amiss of which I am not aware, and my imperfections may be innumerable—I am speaking about myself only as I know myself; our Lord who is the true judge, knows it; and I, too, see very clearly that the work was not mine, but God's, who willed it should be done; and, as it was His own work, He helped me, and was thus gracious unto me. I say this on purpose that you, my children, may learn that you are the more indebted to Him, and know that the houses have been founded without wronging anybody to this day. Blessed be He who has done it all, and quickened the charity of those who have helped us! May it please His Majesty to protect us always, and give us His grace, that we may not be ungrateful for such great mercies! Amen.



15. You have seen already, my daughters, that we had some hardships to bear, but I believe that I have described only the least of them, for if they were to be recounted in detail it would be very wearisome : those of the roads and missing them ; of rain and snow, and more than all, my scanty health ; and once—I know not if I have spoken of it <sup>18</sup>—it was our first day's journey from Malagon to Veas—I happened to be ill of a fever, and in many other ways at the same time, so that when I considered the length of the journey, and beheld the state I was in, I thought of Elias, our father, flying from the face of Jezabel, and said, 'Lord, have I the strength to bear it? Look Thou to it.' The truth is, that when His Majesty saw I was weak He delivered me on the instant from the fever and the other illnesses ; and ever since, whenever I call it to mind, I have been thinking that it happened so because an ecclesiastic, a servant of God, came to me at the time ; and perhaps it was so ; at least I was delivered in a moment from all my sufferings, outward and inward.

16. When I had my health I bore all my bodily toils with joy. Then, I had not a little to bear when I had to bear with, as it was necessary I should in every place, the tempers of many people, and in leaving behind my daughters and my sisters, when I had to go away from one place to another : that was not, I may tell you, the least of my crosses, for I love them so much—especially when I considered that I might never see them again, and saw them sorrowing and weeping ; for, though they are detached from everything else, God has not given them this kind of detachment, perhaps that it might be a greater anguish for me ; neither was I detached from

<sup>18</sup> The Saint made no allusion to it. See ch. xxii.

them, though I strove to the utmost of my power not to show it, and even rebuked them ; but it was of no use, for the love they have for me is great and real, as may be clearly seen in many ways.

17. You have also heard that these monasteries were founded not only with the permission of the most reverend our father-general, but by an express precept or commandment subsequently given. This is not all, for he wrote to me to say of the foundation of each house that it gave him the very greatest pleasure when the foundations I have spoken of were made. Certainly, the greatest relief to me in all my troubles was to see the joy they gave to him, for I felt that I was pleasing our Lord when I was pleasing him, for he is my superior, and, besides, I have a great affection for him.

18. Either His Majesty was pleased to give me some rest at last, or Satan was vexed because so many houses were founded for the service of our Lord. It is well known that it was not the will of our father-general, for on my begging him, a few years before, not to order me to found any more houses he wrote back that he would not do so, because his desire was that I should found as many houses as I had hairs on my head.<sup>19</sup> Before I came away from Seville there was brought to me from the general chapter,<sup>20</sup> which I think ought to have highly

<sup>19</sup> See letter of 4th October 1578, addressed to F. Hernandez, S.J. In that letter the Saint says, 'Our father-general, in a letter written to me when I had begged him not to bid me make any more foundations, says that he wished me to found as many monasteries as I had hairs on my head.'

<sup>20</sup> A general chapter of the order was held in Piacenza 22nd May 1575, Whitsunday, in which the general published the brief of Gregory XIII by which the powers of the Dominican visitors were recalled. At the same time a decree was made for the suppression of the houses in Andalusia which were founded for the observance of the

considered the increase of the order, a decree of the definitory enjoining me not only to make no more foundations, but also, on no account whatever, to leave the house I should choose to dwell in, which was something like sending me to prison,<sup>21</sup> for there are no nuns

primitive rule, and Fray Jerome Tostado of Portugal was appointed by the general to execute the decree (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xl. 1, 5). At this chapter neither Castille nor Andalucia were represented. It had been decided in 1532 that owing to their smallness the three provinces of Castille, Andalucia and Portugal should take it in turns to send representatives, so that instead of three only one member of each should attend, namely, at the next chapter the provincial of Castille with a socius from Andalucia and one from Portugal: at the following the provincial of Andalucia with a socius from Castille and one from Portugal, and so on. However, at the chapter of 1539 none of these provinces were represented, and at 1548 there appeared only the socius from Andalucia. In 1564 the provincial of Castille, Angel de Salazar, was accompanied by Gaspar Nieto of Andalucia. As the chapters had been held very irregularly it was then decided that the next should take place in 1570, but when the time came the general (Rubeo) postponed it, summoning it later on for Pentecost 1572, but owing to the death of the Pope (S. Pius V) which occurred when Rubeo himself was already on his way to Paris where the chapter was to take place and whither a number of capitulars had actually proceeded, he again countermanded it causing thereby a great deal of discontent. At length, on Pentecost 1575 the fathers assembled at Piacenza, but there was no one from the three provinces in question. The provincial of Andalucia, Fray Agustin Suarez, and the socius from Castille, Fray Martin Garcia, were delayed on the sea and arrived only in time to sign the acts of the chapter after all the proceedings had been concluded. The other socius, from Portugal, had arrived a little earlier, but as he was in no way concerned with the Reform and probably knew but little of it his absence or presence made no difference. Consequently there was no official representative to say a word in favour of the Discalced friars and nuns, no one who was acquainted with the real course of events, and the chapter had no better evidence to act upon than the unchallenged complaints of the Andalucians.

<sup>21</sup> The general ordered S. Teresa to choose some one monastery to reside in for the future, which she was not to leave without permission. The order was sent to the provincial of Castille, Fray Angel de Salazar, who transmitted it to Fray Miguel de Ulloa in Seville. The latter kept it by him, and did not make it known to the Saint till after he

whom the provincial may not, when necessary for the good of the order, send from one place to another—I mean, from one monastery to another. And the most grievous thing was this—our father-general was displeased with me, certainly not with reason, but on account of the reports of persons who had given way to passion ; and this it was that gave me pain. At the same time two other and very grave charges were brought against me, but they were not true.<sup>22</sup>

19. I tell you, my sisters, that you may behold the compassion of our Lord, and that His Majesty ceases not to defend those who desire to serve Him, that this not only did not distress me, but gave me such unexpected joy that I could not control it, so that I am not surprised

had learned that she was aware it had come into his hands. As it was close upon Christmas when Fray Miguel communicated the order to S. Teresa, her immediate superior told her that the general did not mean to put her to the grave inconvenience of travelling in the depth of winter, and charged her to remain in Seville for the present. Fray Jerome, moreover, had the right to do so, even if the general had meant to have the order executed at once, for he was the delegate of the nuncio, and his powers came from a different authority. The Saint gives an account of her conduct to the general in a letter written at the beginning of February. See letter of 24th July 1576, (advices) where, as a proof of her obedience and reverence for him, she tells him that, though the provincial told her she might appeal to His Holiness against his decree, she would obey the general and seek no relief, but submit herself to his rule.

<sup>22</sup> One of the charges was, that she travelled in a way unbecoming poverty from Seville to Toledo, when she returned into her monastery in the latter place. But she travelled with her brother, no doubt at his expense, and his generosity was made a crime in her (*De la Fuente*). It is probable enough that Don Lorenzo travelled in some state, for the Saint, shortly after this journey, tells him that he was much inclined to pomp, and that he showed it. The other charge may have been that which Yopez refers to in his letter to Fray Luis de Leon, namely, that the last thing to be said of any woman was said of the Saint—*lo ultimo que de una mujer se puede decir*. Fuente, *Obras*, vi. 128, n. 12.

at what king David did before the ark of our Lord ;<sup>23</sup> I wished then to do nothing else, for my joy was such that I could not hide it. What the reason was I know not, for in the other slanders and contradictions nothing of the kind happened ; one at least of the charges was most serious.<sup>24</sup> The prohibition to make foundations, if it had not been for the displeasure of the most reverend general, would have been a great comfort to me, and

<sup>23</sup> 2 Reg. vi. 14. Et David saltabat totis viribus ante Dominum.

<sup>24</sup> The Saint was accused of heresy, and this is probably what she refers to. A postulant was received of whom her friends spoke highly, and the Saint observed that they would lose their credit if she did not work miracles. She was given to melancholy, and the Saint, finding her obstinate, sent her away with another novice who had made up her mind to follow her. The poor woman denounced S. Teresa to the Inquisition, and a priest whom the Saint had allowed to hear her confessions, believing her story, helped to bring the officials of the Inquisition into the monastery. The charge was serious enough at that time, though to us it appears childish. According to Father Gratian's memoirs it had been thought wise to forbid the nuns, lest the strain on their mind should prove too severe, to speak of spiritual matters during the time of recreation. One nun, however, yielding to habit, happened to make one day an exclamation : O God how I love Thee, or something to that effect. Being rather scrupulous she became frightened as though she had broken her vow of obedience. She therefore asked to see her confessor who at first told her it was no sin to say such a thing, but being told it was forbidden in this convent he, without any further inquiry, found nothing better to do than to hasten to the inquisitors with the news that the Carmelite nuns were forbidden to love God. Absurd as the charge was it led to an extensive inquiry into the customs and rules observed in the convent. Accordingly next morning Fray Jerome, going to see the Saint, found the house surrounded with the men of the holy office, with others inside searching the monastery, and the poor priest at the corner of the street waiting to see all the nuns carried to prison. Fray Jerome, in the greatest alarm as we learn from a letter of the end of November 1576, went in and found the Saint cheerful and jeyous. The inquisitors, satisfied with their search, severely reprimanded the poor priest, and begged the Father Rodrigo Alvarez, S.J., to examine the spirit of the Saint. *Relation* viii. was written on this occasion and submitted to father Alvarez (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. xlvi. and xlvii.).



what I often longed for was that I might end my life in peace ; however, they who obtained that prohibition were not thinking of this, for they thought they were causing me the greatest affliction in the world ; they had probably other good intentions.

20. Sometimes, too, I had a joy in the contradictions and reproaches I met with while employed in making these foundations ; some persons were against me with good intentions, others had other reasons, but I do not remember that I ever felt so great a joy as this in any trouble that befell me<sup>25</sup> I confess that at any other time any one of the three trials that came upon me all at once would have been trial enough for me. I believe that my chief source of joy lay in this—I thought that, as creatures thus repaid me, I must have pleased my Creator, for I know that he who will take his pleasure in the things of earth or in the praise of men will be greatly deceived, to say nothing of the little he may gain by it ; men are of one opinion to-day, of another to-morrow ; that of which they once speak well they soon revile. Blessed be Thou, my God and my Lord, who never changest, never ! Amen. Whosoever shall serve Thee to the end shall live without end in Thy eternity.

21. I began to write the history of these foundations at the commandment of the father-master Ripalda of the Society of Jesus, as I said when I began ; he was then rector of the college in Salamanca and I used to confess to him. Some of it I wrote when I was sojourning there in the monastery of the glorious S. Joseph, in the year 1573. I then refrained from writing because of my many occupations, and I would not go on with it because I was not then confessing to him—he had gone to

<sup>25</sup> See *Life*, ch. xxxi. 13.

another part of the country—and also because it cost me so much toil and labour to write, though I look on my labour as well bestowed because always under obedience. When I had made up my mind to write no more I was ordered to finish the work<sup>26</sup> by the father the commissary apostolic, who is at present the Fray Jerome Gratian of the Mother of God.

22. I told him how few opportunities I had for writing, and gave him other reasons which suggested themselves to me—for I spoke as one whose obedience is miserable—and that it was also a great burden added to the others I had to bear ; nevertheless he commanded me to finish it by degrees, or when I could. I have done so, submitting myself in everything to those who, finding therein anything amiss, shall blot it out, because perhaps that which to me appears very good may be said badly.

23. I finish to-day, the vigil of S. Eugenius, 14th November 1576, in the monastery of S. Joseph, Toledo, where I am staying by the order of the commissary

<sup>26</sup> The history of the foundation of S. Joseph, Avila, was written by direction of Fray Garcia of Toledo, and is inserted in the *Life*, (chs. xxxii, 11-xxxvi.) Then she was commanded by Father Ripalda, S.J., to write the history of the other foundations, which she began to do in Salamanca on the feast of S. Bartholomew, 1573 (prol. § 5), and brought it down to the history of the foundation in Alba de Tormes ; and thus the first part ends with ch. xx. When she was staying in Toledo, and the foundations were interrupted by command of the general and the troubles that came upon the whole order, she was directed by Fray Jerome to finish the book, and she then added the rest, beginning with ch. xxi. down to the end of ch. xxvii. (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. xxxvii. 4, 5.) Fray Jerome laid his command upon her soon after her arrival in Toledo, for on 24th July 1576 she writes to her brother Don Lorenzo, to send her the papers she had already written. And in another letter to father Gratian dated 5th October 1576, the Saint says she was then going to begin to write, our Lord having told her that it would be to the profit of many souls.

apostolic, Fray Jerome Gratian of the Mother of God, whom we now have as the superior of the barefooted Carmelites, men and women, of the primitive rule, being at the same time visitor of those who keep the rule of the mitigation in Andalucia, to the honour and glory of Jesus Christ our Lord, who reigneth and will reign for ever. Amen.

24. I implore the sisters and brothers who shall read this, for the love of our Lord, to pray to our Lord for me, that He would have compassion upon me, deliver me from the pains of purgatory, and, if I shall merit an entrance thereinto, let me have the fruition of Himself. As you are not to see this so long as I live, let me have some advantage after I am dead from the weariness of writing and from the great desire I had while writing to be able to say something that might be a comfort to you, if it should be thought right for you to read it.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> In the original MS. preserved in the Escorial, *Relation* x. is inserted here, as also in the printed editions prior to that of Don Vicente. The remainder of the manuscript is not divided into chapters, but each foundation bears its proper title.

## JHS

## THE FOUNDATION OF VILLANUEVA DE LA JARA

1. Troubles of the Order.—2. And of the Saint.—3. The new nuncio.—4. His severities.—5. Fray Pedro Fernandez.—6. Prayers for the king.—7. Villanueva de la Jara.—8. The Saint's hesitation.—9. Counsell'd not to refuse the foundation.—10. The Saint importuned anew.—11. But still hesitates.—12. Other reasons for hesitation.—13. A divine locution.—14. She chooses the nuns for the new foundation.—15. She departs from Malagon.—16. Courage.—17. Arrival at the monastery of La Roda.—18. Doña Catalina de Cardona.—19. Her strange vocation.—20. Becomes a hermit.—21. Her simplicity.—22. Severity of her hermit life.—23. Tormented by Satan.—24. She makes preparations for founding a monastery.—25. A vision of Fray Ambrosio Mariano.—26. She returns to Madrid.—27. Her death and burial.—28. Doña Catalina wished to remove to a more distant place.—29. The Saint's reverence for Doña Catalina.—30. Who appeared to her in a vision.—31. The Saint reaches Villanueva, 21st February 1580.—32. Is received with great rejoicing.—33. Her humility.—34. Penitential life in the house of S. Anne.—35. Piety of the recluses of S. Anne.—36. Their devotions.—37. The vocation of a Carmelite.—38. Origin of the hermitage of S. Anne.

1. WHEN the foundation in Seville had been made no other foundations were made for more than four years ; the reason was that great persecutions<sup>1</sup> of the friars and

<sup>1</sup> Fray Jerome Tostado was in Barcelona in March, 1576, furnished with jurisdiction over the whole order in Spain (letter of 9th May 1576) ; and in Madrid 5th August, he and Fray Jerome Gratian met. The fathers of the mitigation had held a chapter in Moraleja 12th May, but into which they summoned three friars only of the reform ; the rest were regarded as excommunicated because their houses had been founded without the permission of the father general and ordered to be closed by the General chapter. Two of the three friars, those from

Pastrana and Alcalá, went to the nuncio Ormaneto for advice, who told them to attend the chapter, but to consent to nothing at variance with their own usages. The elections were over when the two friars arrived; the chapter decreed that there should be no distinctions in the order hereafter, the friars were to live together in the practice of the same uses, and the habits of all were to be alike. In short, the reform of S. Teresa was to be rooted out. Fray Juan of Jesús, prior of Mancera, spoke for his brethren, and told the assembled fathers that their decrees would not be observed in the houses of the reform (*Reforma*, bk. iii. ch. 1). Then, in August, Fray Jerome Tostado attempted to use his powers as vicar of the general; but Fray Jerome Gratian confronted him with the authority of the nuncio, who, representing the Pope, had powers which the general could not touch. Tostado left for Portugal at the end of the month, and on 8th September 1576, Fray Jerome Gratian, as visitor by delegation of the nuncio, held the chapter of Almadovar, and severed the friars of the reform from those of the mitigation, Fray Antonio of Jesus being chosen definitor. This was the answer to the chapter of Moraleja. The next year, on the death of the nuncio, Fray Jerome Tostado returned, and, in the words of the chronicler, ‘unsheathed the sword of his power in Madrid,’ by forbidding the further admission of novices, and commanding the friars of the reform to be subject to those of the mitigation. He then summoned all in authority among the reformed to attend him. These for the most part hid themselves. In September 1577, S. Teresa who had come to Avila in July for the purpose of restoring the monastery of S. Joseph to the order—it had been founded under the jurisdiction of the bishop—implored the king, Philip II, to protect the friars and nuns of the reform. The king placed the matter in the hands of his council, and thereupon the attorney-general asked Fray Tostado to show his authority before he proceeded further. There was a lawsuit in due form, and a conflict of jurisdictions, in which the vicar, as was to be expected, lost his cause. But the new nuncio was not afraid of the council; he therefore took up the question, renewed some of the decrees of the vicar, and forbade further foundations. Nevertheless, on the prayers of the friars of the reform, he said that the prohibition was to be valid only where there were friars of the mitigation already in possession. He sent for Fray Jerome Gratian, and asked him to give up his faculties received from the former nuncio, for it was on these that the friars relied, but Fray Jerome forgot himself, declined, and went to the king, who told him to refuse (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxv.). The vicar lost his cause 5th November 1577 (the Bollandists believe it was in December, n. 1780), and departed for Rome (*ib.* xxviii, 1), for the cause was only lost by the intervention of the civil power, and so far the friars of the mitigation were not yet defeated.



nuns arose all at once, so that the order was on the brink of ruin, and, though there had been persecutions enough before, none had been so severe. Satan showed clearly what he thought of the blessed beginning which our Lord had made, and that he felt it to be His work, seeing that it prospered. The friars suffered much, especially the foremost among them, from the false accusations brought against them, and the opposition made to them by nearly all the fathers of the mitigation. The most reverend our father general, though a most saintly man, and though he had given authority for the foundation of all the monasteries except the first, that of S. Joseph in Avila, made by authority of the Pope, was influenced by the fathers of the mitigation that he would allow no more friars of the primitive observance ; nevertheless he was always friendly to the monasteries of the nuns.

2. Now, because I had helped herein, he was made to show his displeasure against me, and that was the greatest trouble I had to bear while making these foundations, and I had to bear many ; for to give up helping in the furtherance of this work, which I saw clearly was for the service of our Lord and the advancement of our order, men of the highest learning, to whom I confessed, and by whom I was advised, would not allow me ; and then to go against what I saw was the will of my superior was a very death, for, beside my obligation as his subject, I had a most tender affection for him, and it was justly due to him. The truth is I wished to please him herein, but I could not, because I was under visitors apostolic, whom I was bound to obey.

3. A saintly nuncio<sup>2</sup> died, who greatly encouraged every thing that was good, and who therefore had

<sup>2</sup> See ch. xxiv. 1 (note <sup>2</sup>).

a great respect for the barefooted friars. Another came,<sup>3</sup> whom God seemed to have sent for the purpose of trying us by sufferings ;<sup>4</sup> he was in some way related

<sup>3</sup> Valdemoro, prior of the Carmelites of the mitigation in Avila, to the great scandal of the city, in 1576, removed S. John of the Cross and Fray German of S. Mathias from Avila, where they were living in a small house as confessors and chaplains of the nuns of the Incarnation (letter of 5th February 1576). But the nuncio, Monsignore Ormaneto, had the friars brought back from Medina, whither Valdemoro had sent them, and those of the mitigation were forbidden by him to meddle with the monastery of the Incarnation. After the death of Ormaneto and the arrival of Monsignore Segá, the new nuncio, the observant friars took courage, and on the night of 3rd December 1577, seized on the confessors of the nuns and hurried them away secretly to prison. S. Teresa appealed to Philip II for help against persons who had no authority over the confessors, or, at least, who had shown none. (Letter of 4th December 1577.) Fray Fernando Maldonado, prior of Toledo, had done this act of wrong, and it was the more reprehensible because the nuncio, Monsignore Segá himself had, if unwillingly, given orders not to interfere with S. John of the Cross (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxvii. 2, 3). Fray Fernando acted under the orders of Fray Jerome Tostado, the vicar, and took S. John of the Cross with him to Toledo, where he shut him up in a narrow cell, into which the light entered only by a loophole, where his food was bread and water ; the whole community gave him the discipline, at first every night, later on thrice in the week and towards the end of his captivity on Fridays only. S. Teresa said she would rather see him in the hands of the Moors than in those of the friars of the mitigation (letter of 10th December 1577). The king could give but little help, for the friars of the mitigation, however harsh and mistaken, were within their rights, and the authority of the nuncio was on their side.

<sup>4</sup> In October, 1577, the nuns of the Incarnation in Avila elected S. Teresa their prioress. Some of the nuns opposed to the Saint appealed against the election to Fray Juan Gutierrez de la Madalena, the provincial. He came to the monastery, by orders from Fray Jerome Tostado, as he said, and ignoring the election, summoned the nuns to elect a prioress from among the conventuals, S. Teresa being of the number. They obeyed him and S. Teresa was chosen (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxvi. 4.) Fifty-five nuns voted for her, but the provincial rejected the votes, and declared those who gave them excommunicated. He came back another day, and summoned the nuns to elect a prioress. He was told by them that they had made an election, and when they were told by him they were excommunicated forty-four nuns elected

to the Pope, and must have been a great servant of God, but he began by favouring very much the friars of the mitigation.<sup>5</sup> The information he received from them concerning us convinced him that it was not right to go on with what we had begun, and so he began to carry out his purpose with the very greatest severity, censuring, imprisoning, and banishing<sup>6</sup> those who he thought might be able to withstand him.

Anne of Toledo, but the others said they would obey her only as the deputy of the prioress. That election was confirmed by Fray Jerome Tostado. (Letter of the end of October 1577.) The nuns were for fifty days not allowed to hear mass or communicate with any outside the monastery, and the latter prohibition was in force so late as 16th January 1578. This election added to the trouble of the Saint, and made both the friars of the mitigation and the nuncio very angry with her.

<sup>5</sup> Monsignore Philip Sega, born at Bologna and intimately befriended with S. Charles Borromeo, was bishop of Ripa Transona at this time, translated the next year to Piacenza, a most learned and admirable prelate, but unhappily very much under the influence of the Carmelites of the mitigation, and ill disposed towards the Saint (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxii. 2). The Bollandists, n. 761, say of him, 'Optime ac sanctissime gestis conspicuus,' and that he was made Cardinal by Innocent IX and died in Rome in 1596. He was appointed nuncio in Spain before the death of Ormaneto and announced his arrival at Madrid 30th August 1577. Master Johannes Franciscus Canobius, apostolic notary, having acted as internuncius.

<sup>6</sup> Fray Antonio of Jesus, now that Fray Jerome had resigned his authority, took upon himself, as the definitor elected in the chapter of Almodovar held in August, 1576, with the sanction of the late nuncio, to call another chapter of Almodovar, 9th October 1578. It is true he had the advice of lawyers. To the chapter came, among others, S. John of the Cross, who had miraculously escaped out of prison. He, however, protested against the proceedings, but was overruled. The friars erected the reform into a separate province, and chose Fray Antonio as their provincial. Fray Juan of Jesus arrived before the fathers separated and urged upon them the illegality of what they had done, but they shut him in a cell for a month lest he should convince others of their wrong. They chose two fathers to go to Rome to obtain the papal sanction. One of them, Fray Pedro of the Angels, was told by S. John of the Cross, 'You are going shoeless to Rome, but you will return shod,' as in fact he did, for he returned to the mitigation,

4. They who had most to suffer were the father Fray Antonio of Jesus, who began the first monastery of the barefooted Carmelites, and the father Fray Jerome Gratian, whom the late nuncio had made visitor apostolic of those of the mitigation; against him and the father Mariano of S. Benedict his displeasure was great.<sup>7</sup> I have already said who those fathers were in writing of the previous foundations: others, too, of the more grave fathers he put in penance, though not so severely. Upon these he laid strict injunctions that they were to meddle with none of our affairs. It was plain that all this came from God, and that His Majesty allowed it for a greater good, and for the clearer manifestation of the goodness of these fathers, as indeed it was. He made a father of the mitigation our superior, who was to visit our monasteries of nuns and friars.<sup>8</sup> If he had found what he expected we should have been in serious

notwithstanding the extreme austerity of his life among the reformed. The friars kept their doings secret for a while, but it was necessary to let the nuncio know what they had done. He very naturally was angry, and ordered the fathers to retire into different monasteries. Fray Antonio, imprisoned at first in Madrid, was sent to Roda; and this is the banishment to which the Saint refers (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxxi. xxxii. xxxiii. 1). The Saint herself begged Fray Jerome in a letter, 15th April 1578, to remain quiet, and abstain from attempting to do what it was not lawful for them to meddle with, and advised recourse straightway to the general of the order or to the Pope himself.

<sup>7</sup> He was sent at first to Atocha, a convent of the Dominicans, but, as the king had a great affection for him, and might probably wish to see him, the nuncio removed him to Pastrana, probably at the end of the year, for he was in Madrid, 13th November 1578 (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxxiii. and ch. xxxiv. 8, *ad fin.*)

<sup>8</sup> He appointed Fray Juan Gutierrez de la Madalena and Fray Diego de Cardenas, provincials respectively of Castille and Andalucia, with Fray Angel de Salazar, prior of Valladolid, all of the mitigated observance, to be visitors of the friars and nuns founded by S. Teresa, and gave them power to bring them back to the old usages of the order. The decree was signed 16th October 1578 (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxxvii. 3).

straits, and we had accordingly very much to suffer, as will be told by one who is more able than I am to write. I do but touch the matter, that the nuns who shall come after us may know how great are their obligations to make progress in perfection when they find that made easy to them which has cost so much to us who are now alive. Some of them suffered in those days from false accusations, which distressed me much more than anything I had to suffer myself; for that on the contrary, was a great delight to me. I considered myself as the cause of the whole tempest, and if they had thrown me into the sea with Jonas the storm would have ceased.<sup>9</sup> Praised

<sup>9</sup> When Fray Jerome Tostado was defeated by the council, the nuncio took the cause into his own hands, and commissioned friars of the mitigation to visit the houses of the reformed, revoking as he had a right to do, 22nd July, the powers granted by the late nuncio to Fray Jerome of the Mother of God (*cf.* Antonio of S. Joseph). In August, 1578, the visitors, who were two fathers of the province of Andalucia, Agustin Suarez and Coria—they had come to Madrid 10th July—went to Pastrana to receive the submission of Fray Antonio, Fray Jerome and Fray Mariano. For a moment the whole reform of S. Teresa was in imminent danger, for there were thoughts of resistance. Fray Jerome happily took counsel of a holy lay brother, who advised absolute obedience. This advice was taken, as the friars yielded to the visitors, and resigned into their hands the faculties received from the late nuncio. The three fathers already named went to Madrid and humbled themselves before the new nuncio. He, however, by way of penance, forbidding them to hear or say mass or to communicate with anybody, relegated them to certain religious houses; Fray Antonio to that of the barefooted Franciscans, Mariano to Atocha, a convent of the Dominicans, and Fray Jerome to the Carmel of Madrid. The king's council at the same time had ordered all the decrees of the nuncio to be suppressed by the civil power, and the nuncio when he heard of it believed that the friars were not sincere in their submission; hence the severity with which he treated the three friars. The nuncio sent for Fray Juan of Jesus, to whom he spoke with great harshness of S. Teresa herself. These were his words:—‘A restless gadabout woman—*femina inquieta, andariega*—disobedient and stubborn, who under the cloak of devotion, invented wicked opinions, going about breaking enclosure,



be God who helps the truth, and so He did at this time ; for, as soon as our Catholic king Don Philip knew what was going on, and learnt how the barefooted Carmelites lived and kept their rule, he took our cause into his own hands, and would have the nuncio not to be the sole judge of it, but assigned four grave persons, three of whom were religious, to be his assistants, in order that justice might be really done us.<sup>10</sup>

contrary to the decree of the Council of Trent and the orders of her superiors, teaching as if she were a doctor, in contempt of the teaching of S. Paul, who commanded women not to teach (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxviii. xxx. 2).

<sup>10</sup> Don Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, count of Tendilla, pleaded for the friars with the nuncio, and, forgetting himself, used unbecoming language. Quitting the presence of the nuncio, he went to Chumazero, the attorney-general, whom he persuaded to use the civil courts in defence of the friars. The issue was a decree of the council, suspending the execution of the orders of the nuncio till the friars of the reform had a hearing. Copies of this decree were sent to the monasteries, but all of them, one only excepted, that of Granada, declined the king's protection in that form, and submitted to the nuncio. Granada had been founded under difficulties, and greatly befriended by the count ; three of the fathers, however, left the house and made their submission to the vicar provincial of the observants (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxxiii. 4). The nuncio complained of the count's behaviour to the king, who disapproved, offered to rebuke the count, and ordered the president of the council, Don Mauricio de Pazos, bishop elect of Avila, to convey his displeasure to him. The president wrote to him, for he had left Madrid, and received a reply explaining his conduct. The letter was shown to the king, who was satisfied, and requested Don Mauricio to send it to the nuncio, but not to let him know that he had seen it. On his return to Madrid the count called on the nuncio, and again pleaded, but in courteous language, the cause of the persecuted friars, who he said were, in the opinion of all men, more worthy of encouragement than of the treatment hitherto received by them. The nuncio, who was in good faith, and who firmly believed all he had heard against them, told the count he should be glad to have anybody whom the king might appoint as his assistants in the process, for he had no interest to serve but that of justice. The count asked him to put his offer in writing ; the nuncio did so at once, and the count took away the paper, which was immediately sent to the king. Philip II was pleased, and

5. One of these was the father master Fray Pedro Fernandez, a man of most saintly life, very learned and able. He had been apostolic commissary and visitor of the fathers of the mitigation of the province of Castille, and we also of the primitive rule were subject to him. He knew well and truly how both the one and the other were living, for we all wished for nothing but the making known our way of life. Then, when I saw that the king had named him, I looked on the matter as settled,<sup>11</sup> as, by the goodness of God, it is. May His Majesty grant it to be for His honour and glory ! Though the noblemen of the realm and the bishops who took great pains to put the truth before the nuncio were many in number, yet it would all have been to little purpose if God had not made use of the king.

6. We are under very great obligations, my sisters, all of us, to remember him in our prayers to our Lord, together with those<sup>12</sup> who undertook His cause and that appointed his chaplain Don Luis Manrique, his preacher the Augustinian friar Lorenzo de Villavicencio, the two Dominicans Fray Hernando del Castillo (also a royal preacher) and Fray Pedro Fernandez, provincial of Castille (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxxvi.).

<sup>11</sup> Fray Pedro Fernandez had made his former visitations in great humility and charity, travelling on foot. When he was making the visit of Pastrana he lived with the friars and observed their rule. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that S. Teresa trusted him.

<sup>12</sup> The assessors found the nuncio when they met, 1st April 1579, under the dominion of prejudice, and could not prevail upon him to hear anything in defence of the friars, whom he honestly believed to be what their adversaries described. Therefore they called for all the papers he had received, and these were produced, for the nuncio felt that they would amply justify his previous acts. They then called his attention to the fact that there was nothing in them but accusations without a shadow of proof. The nuncio saw at once that he had been misled, and that he had read the papers in the light of the wrong information given him by the Italian friars before he left Rome, who probably were themselves innocently deceived. He withdrew the faculties he had given to the visitors who had dealt so ruthlessly with

of our Lady the Virgin, and so I earnestly recommend you to do so. You will understand now, my sisters, what opportunity there was for making foundations ; we were all intent on prayer and penance without ceasing, begging God to prosper our foundations already made, if they were for His service.

7. In the beginning of these great troubles, which thus briefly told may seem to you slight, and which long endured were heavy, there came to me in Toledo in the year 1576, whither I had gone from making the foundation in Seville,<sup>13</sup> an ecclesiastic from Villanueva de la Jara with letters from the municipality. The purport was to arrange with me for the receiving into a monastery nine women,<sup>14</sup> who were living together in a hermitage

their brethren, and appointed Fray Angel de Salazar visitor, with strict orders to save the reform and release it from all subjection to the friars of the observance. The faculties of Fray Angel de Salazar were signed 1st April 1579 (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxxvii. 1-3).

<sup>13</sup> Immediately on her arrival in Toledo, in the month of June, 1576, (*Tepes*, ii. 29).

<sup>14</sup> Among the many persons attracted partly by curiosity and partly by veneration round Doña Catalina de Cardona there were four young ladies, the daughters of pious and noble parents. Their intention was to serve God under the guidance of that holy anchoress, but she would not consent to this, and their brother, a priest, as well as the parish priest of Villanueva, advised them to lead the life of *Beatas* while Doña Catalina foretold them that one day they should found a convent of Carmelite nuns. A widow, mother of four daughters who were animated by a similar purpose, invited them to join her household, and soon after another lady was admitted into it as well. The people of Villanueva with the parish priest at their head received them and led them in procession to the hermitage of S. Anne close to the house where the widow lived. This happened in 1574. Doctor Agustin Ervías, canon of Cuenca, who succeeded Juan de Rojas as parish priest of Villanueva, undertook to make the necessary arrangements with the municipality and with Saint Teresa for the new community to be aggregated to her convents, for which purpose he despatched a messenger who met her at Toledo, (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. iii. *Oeuvres*, iv. 99, note 2).

of the glorious S. Anne, which was in the neighbourhood. They had lived some years in a small house close by it, and in such recollectedness and holiness that the whole population was moved to make an effort to fulfil their desire, which was that of being nuns. I received a letter also from a doctor, the parish priest of the place, Agustin de Eryías,<sup>15</sup> a learned and good man, and it was his great goodness that made him help, so far as he could, in this holy work.

8. As for myself I thought it was wholly out of the question that I should accept the monastery, for these reasons :—1. Because they whom I was to accept were so many, and because I considered it would be a very difficult thing to train in our way those who had been accustomed to live in their own. 2. Because they had scarcely any means of subsistence, and the place has hardly more than a thousand inhabitants, which would furnish but scanty help to those who have to live on alms : though the municipality did offer to maintain them, I did not think that was to be relied on. 3. They had no house. 4. They were far away from the other monasteries. And, though I was told they were very good, yet as I had not seen them I could not know whether they had those gifts which we claim for our monasteries, and so I made up my mind to a thorough refusal.

9. To do this I must first speak to my confessor, the doctor Velasquez, canon and professor in Toledo,<sup>16</sup> a most learned and excellent man, now bishop of Osma ; for I am in the habit of never doing anything of my own will, but only at the will of persons such as he is. When

<sup>15</sup> Don Agustin had been Canon of Cuenca ; wearied of that dignity, he exchanged it for the parish church of Villanueva and Don Juan, mentioned in the foregoing note, became Canon of Cuenca (*Ibid.* § 4).

<sup>16</sup> See below, ch. xxx. 1, note.

he saw the letters and understood the matter he bade me not to refuse, but to answer kindly ; for if God made so many hearts agree together on a thing it was plain He intended to be served thereby. I did so, for I neither accepted nor refused absolutely. Time passed on in importuning me and in searching out those who might persuade me to accept, till this year 1580, I all the while thinking it folly to do so. When I made any reply I never could reply altogether unfavourably.

10. The father Fray Antonio of Jesus happened to come to the monastery of our Lady of Succour, which lies three leagues from the town of Villanueva, there to finish the term of his banishment.<sup>17</sup> He used to go and preach there, and the prior of the monastery, who at this time is the father Fray Gabriel of the Assumption,<sup>18</sup> a most prudent man and servant of God, went also frequently to the same place, for they were friends of doctor Ervías, and began an acquaintance with these saintly sisters. Attracted by their goodness, and persuaded by the people and the doctor, they took up the

<sup>17</sup> See § 3 above. The nuncio confined Fray Antonio at first in the barefooted Franciscan monastery of S. Bernardin in Madrid, together with Fray Gabriel of the Assumption. But, as the latter was wanted in his monastery of Roda, the nuncio sent him back, and with him Fray Antonio, after a detention of some weeks in Madrid. This was in the year 1578 (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxxiii. 1, and bk. v. ch. iii. 5).

<sup>18</sup> Fray Gabriel of the Assumption was a native of Pastrana ; his father Juan de Buencuchillo and his mother Ana Hernandez Ruiz were persons of great consideration in the town. Fray Gabriel was about to be married, but gave up the world, moved by our Lord, at the ceremony of taking the habit by Mariano of S. Benedict and Juan de la Miseria, in the chapel of Ruy Gomez, in 1569 (see ch. xvii. 13). In the octave of the Assumption of the same year he took the habit himself, being the third novice who left the world for the reform of S. Teresa. He was prior of La Roda during the troubles, and died in 1584, two years after the death of the Saint (*Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. xxviii. 9 ; ch. xxxvii. 6 ; and bk. vi. ch. xxxiii).



matter as if it was their own, and began to persuade me, writing very earnest letters ; and when I was in S. Joseph's in Malagon, which is twenty-six leagues and further from Villanueva, the father prior himself came to speak to me on the subject. He told me how it could be done, and that, the monastery once founded, the doctor Ervías would endow it with three hundred ducats a year out of the revenues of the living he held ; that leave to do so could be had from Rome.<sup>19</sup>

11. This seemed to me very uncertain, for I thought it might fail us after the foundation was made, yet with the little which the sisters possessed it might be well enough, and so I gave many reasons, and in my opinion they were sufficient, to the father prior, to make him see that it would never do to accept the monastery ; I said further that he must look well to it, he and father Antonio ; that I left it on their conscience, thinking that what I had told them was enough to stop the matter. When he had left I reflected on his great earnestness, and thought he might prevail on Fray Angel de Salazar, our present superior, to accept the monastery ; and so I wrote to Fray Angel immediately, begging him not to grant his permission, telling him my reasons at the same time. He wrote to me afterwards to say he would not have granted it unless I wished it myself.

12. Six weeks, perhaps more, passed away ; when I was now thinking I had put a stop to it they sent me a messenger with very pressing letters from the two fathers, as well as from the municipality, by which they bound themselves to furnish whatever was necessary ;

<sup>19</sup> This offer of doctor Ervías was made in 1580, when the troubles of the order were nearly over. Fray Antonio had accompanied the prior to Malagon, to press the matter on the Saint (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. iii. 5).

doctor Ervías, too, undertaking to perform what I spoke of before. My dread of receiving these sisters was very great ; I thought they would be a faction banded together against the sisters whom I might take thither, as it usually happens, and also because I saw no certain means of maintenance for them, for that which was offered was not such as I was bound to accept : so I was in great doubt. Afterwards I saw it was the work of Satan, for, though our Lord had given me courage, I was then so faint of heart that I seemed to have no trust in God at all. The prayers, however, of those blessed souls prevailed.

13. One day after communion, while I was commending the matter to God, as I was often doing—for the reason why I answered favourably before was the fear I had I might be hindering the progress of some souls, for my desire ever is to help in any way to advance the glory of our Lord and to increase the number of His servants—His Majesty rebuked me severely, saying, ‘Where was the treasury that supplied the means for the foundations already made?’ I was to accept the house without any misgiving : it would be greatly to His honour and the progress of souls. So mighty are the words of God, they not only enter the understanding, but also enlighten it to see the truth and make the will ready to act : so it was with me, for I was not only glad to accept the monastery, but felt that I had been to blame for holding back so long, and clinging so much to human considerations, seeing that His Majesty had done so much for our holy order in ways undiscoverable by reason.

14. Having resolved to accept the foundation, I thought it right to go thither myself with the nuns who

were to remain there, and that for many reasons which suggested themselves, though very much against my inclination, for I was very ill when I came to Malagon,<sup>20</sup> and was so still. But, thinking I should please our Lord by going, I wrote to the superior in order that he might command as he should judge best. He sent the licence for the foundation, with an order for me to go there myself, and to take with me the nuns I preferred,<sup>21</sup> which made me very anxious because they would have to live with those who were there already. Earnestly commending the matter to our Lord, I took two nuns out of the monastery of S. Joseph in Toledo, one of whom was to be prioress, and two out of that at Malagon, one to be sub-prioress ; and, as we had prayed so much to our Lord, the choice could not have been better, which gave me no slight pleasure, for in the foundations begun with nuns only from our monasteries everything falls happily into its own place.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The Saint had arrived in Malagon 25th November 1579. She had gone from Toledo to Avila in July, 1577, where she remained in the monastery of S. Joseph, given to the order by her during the persecution, till 25th April 1579, when peace was restored. She now visited the monasteries and consolidated her work, which had been grievously threatened, and in some places shattered, by the oppressive rule of the fathers of the mitigation.

<sup>21</sup> The Saint, writing to Mother Mary of S. Joseph, prioress of Seville, 1st February 1580, says that Fray Angel de Salazar had sent the permission five days before, *i.e.* 28th January, and that she meant to take with her as sub-prioress Elvira of San Angelo, professed in Malagon ; that the prioress was to be from Toledo, but she was then in doubt whom she should choose.

<sup>22</sup> The Saint had a general procession in the monastery to obtain light for the purpose of choosing the nuns. With the sister Elvira she took Anne of S. Augustine, and then, going with them and Anne of S. Bartholomew, together with the friars who came for her, to Toledo, she took from that monastery Maria of the Martyrs whom she appointed prioress—not Anne of the Mother of God, as Ribera relates—and Constance of the Cross (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. iii. 6).

15. The father Fray Antonio of Jesus and the father prior Fray Gabriel of the Assumption came to fetch us.<sup>23</sup> The city having furnished everything, we left Malagon on the Saturday before Lent, 13th February 1580. It was the pleasure of God to send us such fine weather, and to me such health that I seemed as if I had never been ill. I was amazed, and considered how important it is for us never to think of our own infirmities when we are employed in the service of our Lord, whatever the difficulties before us may be, seeing that He is able to make the weak strong and the sickly healthy; and should He not do so it will be better for our soul if we suffer and forget ourselves with our eyes fixed on His honour and glory. Why are life and health given to us but to be lost for so grand a King and Lord? Believe me, my sisters, no harm will ever befall you if you travel on this road.

16. I confess myself that my wickedness and weakness have put me very often in fear and doubt, but I cannot call to mind any occasion since our Lord gave me the habit of a barefooted Carmelite, nor for some years before, in which, of His mere compassion, He did not enable me by His grace to overcome these temptations, and to venture upon that, however difficult it might be, which I understood to be for His greater glory. I see clearly that what I did myself was very little, but God asks no more than a resolution of this kind to do everything Himself. May He be blessed and praised for ever! Amen.

<sup>23</sup> The Saint, in a letter to Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, 12th February 1580, says that the two friars were come that day to Malagon, and that they had brought with them a carriage and a cart. 'Fray Antonio is come in good health and fat; trouble fattens this year, I think.'

17. We had to go to the monastery of our Lady of Succour, already spoken of,<sup>24</sup> which is three leagues from Villanueva, and halt there to give warning of our arrival, for so it had been settled, and it was only reasonable I should in everything obey the fathers with whom we came. The monastery stands in a desert and most pleasing solitude, and when we drew near the friars came forth in great orderliness to receive their prior ; as they advanced barefooted in their coarse cloaks of serge they moved all to devotion, and I was melted at the sight exceedingly, for I thought I was living in the flourishing age of our holy fathers. On that plain they looked as white fragrant flowers, and so I believe they are in the eyes of God, for in my opinion He is most truly served there. They went into the church singing *Te Deum* in a voice that betrayed their mortified lives. The church is entered underground as through a cave, which figured that of our father Elias. Certainly I went in with so much inward joy that I would have looked on a much longer journey as profitably made, though I was very sorry for the death of the saint by whom our Lord founded the house ; I did not deserve to see her though I desired it greatly.

18. I think it will not be a waste of time to say something in this place of her life, and how it came to pass that our Lord would have the monastery founded which, as I learn, has been of so much advantage to many souls in the country round about. I do so that you, my sisters, beholding the penance done by this saint, may see how far we are behind her, and make efforts to serve our Lord with renewed courage ; for there is no reason why we should do less than she did, seeing that we are

<sup>24</sup> § 10, above.



not sprung from so refined and noble a race, for, though this be of no consequence, I speak of it because she once lived in great comfort according to her rank, for she was a child of the ducal house of Cardona, and was known as Doña Catalina de Cardona.<sup>25</sup> When she had written to me a certain number of times she signed herself simply 'The Sinner.' How she lived before our Lord bestowed on her graces so great they will tell you who shall write her life, and more particularly the great things that may be told of it : lest it should not come to your knowledge, I will tell you what I have been told by certain persons who have conversed with her, and who deserve to be believed.

19. This holy woman, while living among great men and ladies of high rank, was always careful about her soul and did penance. Her desire of penance, and of withdrawing into a place where in solitude she could have the fruition of God and spend herself in doing penance

<sup>25</sup> Her father was Don Ramon de Cardona, descended from the royal house of Aragon, and her mother was a near relative of the princess of Salerno, into whose house she was taken on her father's death, when she was but eight years of age. She had a vision of her father in purgatory, who told her that his release would be the fruit of her penance. Thereupon she at once began to mortify and discipline herself till she obtained her father's deliverance. The princess of Salerno brought her to Spain, and, about the time when S. Teresa was laying the foundations of her reform, Doña Catalina, who was four years younger, was moved to begin the life of heroic austerity in the desert of which the Saint here speaks. When she was living in Valladolid with the princess she recognised the heretic in the popular preacher Cazalla when everybody else was running after him. On the death of the princess she governed the household for a time of Ruy Gomez, and had also under her care the prince Don Carlos and his brother Don Juan of Austria. The former she could not influence, but for the latter she had a most tender affection. She led now a most austere life, eating no flesh and fasting four days in the week (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. i.-v.).

undisturbed by others, grew within her exceedingly. She spoke of it to her confessors, and they would not give their consent; but, as the world is now so very discreet, and the great work of God wrought in His saints, men and women, who serve Him in the deserts, is almost forgotten, I am not surprised that they thought her desire foolish; but, as His Majesty never fails to further true desires to their end, He so ordered it that she went to confession to a Franciscan friar, Fray Francis de Torres,<sup>26</sup> whom I knew very well and look upon as a saint, who many years ago gave himself with great fervour to penance and prayer, and he had to endure much persecution. He must have been able if any, to discern clearly the graces God bestows on those who strive to be the recipients of them, and so he told her she was not to hold back, but to obey the call of His Majesty. I do not know whether these were his very words or not, but it is the substance of them, for she immediately executed her purpose.<sup>27</sup>

20. She made herself known to a hermit<sup>28</sup> who was

<sup>26</sup> She had the advice and encouragement also of S. Peter of Alcantara (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. iv. 10).

<sup>27</sup> Ruy Gomez went to visit an estate he had just purchased, and Doña Catalina begged she might accompany him and the princess his wife. Ruy Gomez consented, and from his house in Estremera she made her way, dressed as a man, to the desert, where she spent her life in the service of God (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. v. 2, 3).

<sup>28</sup> He was a priest Piña by name, who, having visited the holy places of Rome, withdrew into the mountain of Vera Cruz, near Old Alcalá, where he lived as a hermit, much revered by all for his sanctity and the wisdom of his counsel. He had some business with the prince Ruy Gomez, and that brought him into relations with Doña Catalina, whom he knew before in Madrid. He approved of her resolution, and then, with Martin Alonzo, a native of La Roda, who had been chaplain of Ruy Gomez, they set out, she in man's clothing, before dawn, and made their way to La Roda. They found a cave for her, and there left her (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. v.).

in Alcalá, and begged him to go with her, and never tell anybody. They came to the place where the monastery stands ; there she found a small cave, which hardly held her, in which the hermit left her. But what love must she have had ! for she did not think of any means of finding food, nor of the dangers that might ensue, nor of the evil speaking that would result from her disappearance. Oh, how deeply must that holy soul have drunk of the wine of God ! So filled therewith was she that she would have none to hinder her in the fruition of the Bridegroom, so determined to love the world no more, seeing that she thus ran away from all its comforts. Let us consider it well, my sisters, and mark how she conquered it all at one blow ; for, though what you do is not less than what she did when you enter this holy order—when you offer your will to God, and promise such lifelong enclosure—perhaps the first fervours of some of us pass away, and we become subject again in some things to our self-love. May His Divine Majesty grant it be not so, and that we who already are followers of this holy woman in seeking to escape from the world, may be very far away from it in everything in our hearts.

21. I have heard many details of the great austerity of her life, and only the least portion thereof can be known ; for during the many years she dwelt in that solitude with such earnest desires of doing penance, and having no one to check her, she must have treated her body fearfully. I will tell you what some persons have heard her say herself, and among them the nuns of S. Joseph in Toledo, when she went to see them. She spoke openly as if they were sisters, and so she did to other persons ; for her simplicity was great, and her

humility must have been so too. As she was one who knew that she was nothing in herself, she was very far from vainglory, and had a pleasure in speaking of the graces which God bestowed upon her, that through them His name might be praised and glorified. This is a dangerous proceeding for those who have not reached her state, for it may seem in them, at least, to be praise of self. Her openness and holy simplicity must have saved her from that danger, for I never heard that this imperfection was ever laid to her charge.

22. She said that she had been eight years in that cave, living for many days together on the herbs of the field and on roots ; for when the three loaves were finished which he who went with her to the cave left behind she had nothing until a poor shepherd came to the place :<sup>29</sup> he supplied her afterwards with bread and meal—that was her food—cakes baked on embers, and nothing else, of which she partook once in three days. And it is most true, as the friars too who dwell there are witnesses ; and at a later time, when she was much wasted, they would make her occasionally eat a sardine or something else, when she went about seeking means to found a monastery ; but she felt it do her more harm than good. As for wine, I never heard that she drank any. Her disciplines were inflicted with a heavy chain, and frequently lasted two hours and an hour and a half. The sackcloth she wore was of the very coarsest kind, as I have learned from a certain person, a woman who, returning from a pilgrimage,

<sup>29</sup> His name was Benitez. He and others knew that a hermit lived somewhere in that country, for he had been seen in the church of Fuen Santa, but none knew where he was living. Doña Catalina had lived three years in the cave before Benitez found her gathering herbs and roots for her support (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. ix. 1, 2).

stayed with her one night, and, while feigning to be asleep, saw her take off her sackcloth full of blood and wash it.

23. What she had to bear from evil spirits was still worse, as she told the nuns mentioned before ; they appeared to her as huge mastiffs, leaping on her shoulders ; at other times as serpents. She was not in the least afraid of them. After she had founded the monastery she went still to the cave, lived and slept in it, and left it only to be present at the divine office. Before that she went to mass in a monastery of the Mercedarians,<sup>30</sup> a quarter of a league distant, and that sometimes on her knees. Her clothing was of kersey, with a tunic of coarse cloth, and so fashioned that the people thought she was a man. When those years were over during which she lived so much alone it pleased our Lord to make her known, and people out of devotion began to visit her in such crowds as were more than she could bear. She spoke to all with great charity and love. As time went on the people thronged around her more and more, and he who could have speech of her thought much of it. She was so wearied herself that she said they were killing her. There came a day when the whole plain was full of carriages. Soon after the friars were established, there was no help for it but they must raise her up on high that she might give them her blessing, and in that way get rid of them. When she had been eight years in the cave—it was now larger in

<sup>30</sup> Friars of the order of our Lady de la Merced, founded for the ransom of captives from the unbelievers by S. Peter Nolasco the first general, S. Raymond de Peñafort, and James I king of Aragon. The fourth vow of the friars is, that they will, if necessary, deliver themselves up to the infidels for the release of prisoners.



size, for those who came to see her had made it so "—she had a most serious illness, and thought she should die of it ; and all this took place in that cave.

24. She began wishing for a monastery of friars in that place, and did so for some time not knowing to which order it should belong. On one occasion our Lord showed her when she was in prayer before a crucifix which she always had with her, a white mantle, and she understood it belonged to the barefooted Carmelites. She had never heard that there were such friars in the world, and at that time only two monasteries had been founded, those of Mancera and Pastrana.<sup>32</sup> She must have obtained the knowledge thereof after this ; then, having learnt that there was a monastery in Pastrana, and as she had been very friendly in times past with the princess of Eboli, wife of prince Ruy Gomez, to whom Pastrana belonged, she set out for that place to find how she could have the monastery she desired.<sup>33</sup> There, in the monastery of

<sup>31</sup> One night when she was praying she saw that the cave was crumbling, for the earth had been loosened by the moisture. She tried to escape, but was overwhelmed by the falling earth. In the morning she was discovered half buried, and released, and at the same time were discovered also her fearful instruments of penance. The people cleared the cave, and in doing so made it larger, and also protected it against the wet (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. x. 5).

<sup>32</sup> The friars left Duruelo, the first house, and established themselves in Mancera, 11th June 1570. The house in Pastrana was founded a year earlier, 13th June 1569. See ch. xiv. 8, note (<sup>8</sup>) ; xvii. 13, note (<sup>17</sup>).

<sup>33</sup> After the vision she made inquiries about friars such as she now understood to be our Lord's will to send to La Roda, and all were amazed at her questions. A few days later a poor man who had gone to Pastrana came to her and said, 'Give me a reward ; I have seen your friars in Pastrana ; the prince Ruy Gomez has built them a monastery there.' She then wrote to the prince, and he communicated the letter to the friars. Fray Ambrosio Mariano was sent to the cave for her, and brought her to Pastrana, not without much persuasion, and some trouble in getting away without the knowledge of

S. Peter, for that is its title, she took the habit of our Lady,<sup>34</sup> not, however, with the intention of becoming a nun and making her profession, for she never had any inclination to be a nun, because our Lord was leading her by another way ; she thought that if she were once under obedience they would thwart her in her purpose of living austere and in solitude.

25. In the presence of all the friars she received the habit of our Lady of Carmel.<sup>35</sup> Father Mariano was there at the time. I have spoken of him before in the story of these foundations,<sup>36</sup> and he told me myself that he fell into a trance or rapture and lost all consciousness, and saw while in that state many friars and nuns lying dead ; some of them had their heads cut off, and others their limbs and arms, as having suffered martyrdom ; for that is the meaning of the vision. He is not a man to say that he saw what he has not seen, neither is he in the habit of falling into a trance, for that is not the way by which God is leading him. Pray to God, my sisters, that the vision may be true, and that we in our day may deserve to behold so great a blessing, and be ourselves among the martyrs.

26. In Pastrana the saintly Cardona began to seek the means of founding a monastery, and in order to do so went back to Madrid, out of which she had gone away

the neighbourhood. On the 3rd of May 1571, she came to Pastrana, and the prince himself with the duke of Gandia, the successor of S. Francis Borja, went out to meet her, with many others (*Reforma*, bk. iv. chs. xi. xii).

<sup>34</sup> She would have the habit of a lay brother, for she thought the life of the Carmelite nuns too soft for her, and she was accordingly so clothed, 6th May, by the prior Fray Baltasar of Jesus (Nieto) (*Ibid.*, ch. xii. 5, 6).

<sup>35</sup> 6th May 1571.

<sup>36</sup> See ch. xvii. 5, note (7).

with so much joy,<sup>37</sup> which was no slight torment to her ; and there she did not escape trouble or the tongue that speaketh evil, for whenever she went abroad she could not avoid the crowd ; it was thus wherever she was. Some cut off pieces from her habit, others from her mantle. She went next to Toledo, where she remained with our nuns. All of them assured me that there was about her a fragrance as that of relics, so strong that it moved them to give thanks to our Lord ; it clung even to her habit and her girdle which she left behind, for they took her habit from her and gave her another ; and the nearer they came to her the more strongly did they perceive it, though her dress, owing to the heat which then prevailed, was of a kind to be offensive rather than otherwise. I know they would not say anything that was not in every way true ; they had a great veneration for her. At the court and other

<sup>37</sup> She went to Madrid accompanied by the fathers Fray Pedro of the Apostles, Fray Ambrosio Mariano, and the brother Juan de la Miseria. As she had been in the habit of giving her blessing to the people who thronged around her in her cave, so she continued to do in Madrid ; and one day a zealous and good man told the nuncio, Monsignore Ormaneto, that he had seen a Carmelite lay brother in a carriage with ladies, giving his blessing like a bishop to the people. The nuncio sent for Fray Ambrosio, whom he knew well, and asked him who the brother was. Fray Ambrosio told the whole truth, but the nuncio would not be satisfied—he must see the woman herself and try her spirit. Fray Ambrosio went for Doña Catalina and took her to the nuncio ; she as soon as she saw him gave him her blessing as usual, but the nuncio was not pleased, asked the friar how he came to bring her to his presence in that dress, and asked her what spirit it was that made her bless the people as if she were a bishop. The two friars prostrated themselves before the nuncio and were silent, and he, touched by their humility, bade them rise, and by conversing with them understood the matter, and left Doña Catalina in peace, asking her, however, to pray for the success of the Catholic league under Don Juan (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xiv. 4).

places people gave her the means to found the monastery, and when she had the licence it was founded.<sup>38</sup>

27. The church was built where her cave was, and another was made for her on one side having in it a solid tomb. There she remained both night and day during the remainder of her life.<sup>39</sup> That was not long, for she lived only about five years and a half after the foundation of the monastery; it seems supernatural, and indeed so does her former life, considering how severe it was. She died in the year 1577, as I find now.<sup>40</sup> The solemnities of her burial were very grand, for a noble-

<sup>38</sup> The licence to make the foundation was obtained for her by the king from the provincial of the mitigation, and the visitor apostolic Fray Pedro Fernandez. She received large presents of vestments and vessels for the celebration of mass, which moved a grave ecclesiastic to say to her that woollen chasubles and leaden chalices were well enough for poor friars. She answered, 'You, a worm of the earth, have a service of silver, and want the King of kings to be satisfied with lead.' She left Madrid in the beginning of March, 1572, and in April took possession of the place where the new monastery was to rise over the cave which she had dwelt in for eight years (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xvi. 2, 3).

<sup>39</sup> In October, 1573, at the earnest request of a knight of S. James, she left the cave on an errand of charity to Madrid. Don Gonzalo, elder brother of the archbishop of Toledo, was in danger of losing his life, and she was to beg his pardon of the king, who refused to listen to any one. In this she was successful, and set out for La Roda in the beginning of the following year, visiting the princess of Eboli in Pastrana, who was already beginning to be weary of the nuns. Father Gaspar de Salazar, S.J., sent by the Inquisition of Cuenca to examine her spirit, visited her in the cave, and was not only edified but amazed at what he saw and heard: his report to the inquisitors silenced all clamour (*Reforma*, bk. iv. chs. xix., xx).

<sup>40</sup> The chronicler of the order says, (bk. iv. ch. xx.) that she foretold her death, which was to take place within the octave of the Ascension, and that she died 11th May 1577, though others say it was two years later. Father Bouix says she died 11th May 1577, on the octave of the Ascension. Now, in 1577 Ascension Day fell on 16th May; but in 1578 it fell on the 8th, and in that year 11th May was within the octave. Her body was afterwards transferred to Villanueva,

man of the name of Don Juan de Leon<sup>41</sup> had a great veneration for her and insisted on it. She is now lying in a chapel of our Lady, to whom she was so extremely devout, but only for a time, till a larger church than the one they have at present shall be built, as only fitting to contain her blessed body.<sup>42</sup>

28. The monastery on her account is a place of great devotion, which still continues, and so is the whole neighbourhood, especially on account of the desert and the cave where she lived. Before she resolved on building the monastery I have been told on good authority that she used to be worn and wearied at the sight of the great crowds that came to see her, that she wanted to go to some other place where nobody knew anything about her, and that she sent for the hermit who brought her thither to take her away, but he was then dead. Our Lord, who had ordained that a house should be built there for our Lady, would not let her depart, for I see, as I said before, that He is greatly served there. The friars are in marvellous dispositions, and their countenances show plainly what a joy they have in being thus separated from the world, especially the prior,<sup>43</sup> whom God had taken away from many comforts that he might wear the habit, and whom He thus amply rewarded by giving him the comfort of His Spirit. He

<sup>41</sup> *Fray* Juan de Leon, the MS. says but 'Father Gratian rightly corrected this by writing *Don* adding, however, that he believed Juan de Leon would yet become a friar since S. Teresa had given him this title.

<sup>42</sup> In 1603 the monastery was removed to Villanueva de la Jara, and the friars took with them the body of their foundress, and three years afterwards, when Fray Pedro of Jesus Maria was prior, placed it in an honourable place on the gospel side (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xx. 8).

<sup>43</sup> The prior of La Roda was Fray Gabriel of the Assumption, (see above, § 10, note.)



showed me much affection there. They gave us some of the furniture of their church for use in that which we were going to found ; for, as the saintly woman was held in great respect by so many persons of note, their church was well supplied with its furniture.

29. During my stay there I was greatly comforted, though to my exceeding great shame, and the shame lasts, because I saw that she who there had borne so sharp a penance was a woman like myself, and more tenderly nurtured, for she was of a nobler race, and not so great a sinner as I am ; on this subject there is no comparison possible between us, for I received much greater graces from our Lord in many ways, and that I am not this moment in hell for my great sins is a very great one. To follow in her steps, if I can, is my only comfort ; but that is not much, for all my life has been wasted in desires ; as for works I have none.<sup>44</sup> May God of His compassion succour me, in whom I have always put my trust, for the sake of His Most Holy Son and the Virgin our Lady, whose habit, by the goodness of our Lord, I wear !

30. One day after Communion in that hallowed church I became profoundly recollected, and fell into a trance in which my senses were withheld. In that trance I saw the holy woman as a glorious body by an intellectual vision. There were angels with her ; she told me not to grow faint, but strive to go on with these foundations. I understand thereby, though she did not say so expressly, that she helped me before God. She also told me something else, but there is no reason why I should repeat it here. I was very much comforted, and had a desire to labour ; and I hope, in the goodness of our Lord, that,

<sup>44</sup> See *Relation* iii. 12.

with such good help as her prayers are, I may be able to serve Him in some measure. You see now, my sisters, that her troubles are over already, and that the bliss she is in has no end. Let us strive now for the love of our Lord, to follow this our sister : hating ourselves as she hated herself, we shall finish our journey, for everything passes rapidly away and comes to an end.

31. On the first Sunday in Lent—it was the eve of the feast of the Chair of S. Peter, and the feast of S. Barbatian, 1580<sup>45</sup>—we reached Villanueva de la Jara. On that very day the Most Holy Sacrament was brought into the church of the glorious S. Anne at the time of high mass. The whole municipality and certain others with doctor Ervías, came forth to receive us, and we alighted at the church of the town, which is somewhat distant from that of S. Anne.

32. The joy of the people was so great that it filled me with consolation at beholding their pleasure in receiving the order of the Most Holy Virgin our Lady. When we were yet far away we heard the ringing of the bells, and on our entering the church they began the *Te Deum*, one verse sung by the choristers accompanied by the organ, the other played on the organ. That done they carried the Most Holy Sacrament on a bier, and on another our Lady, with crosses and banners. The procession moved on in great pomp ; we, in our white mantles, and faces veiled, were in the middle near the Most Holy Sacrament, and close to us our barefooted friars, who had come in great numbers from their monastery ; <sup>46</sup> the Franciscans—for there is a monastery of S. Francis there—went also, and a Dominican who

<sup>45</sup> 21st February 1580.

<sup>46</sup> The monastery of our Lady of Succour, La Roda.

was in the place, and though he was alone it gave me pleasure to see that habit there.

33. As the distance was great, many altars had been raised. The procession halted at times, when something was sung about our order, which moved me to great devotion :<sup>47</sup> so also did it to see that it was all in praise of the great God there present, and that so much was done for us seven poor Discalced nuns who were there. Nevertheless, when I reflected upon it I was filled with confusion, remembering that I was among them, and that everyone there ought to have turned against me if they would but have treated me as I deserve. I have given you at such length this account of the honour done to the habit of our Lady, that you may give thanks to our Lord and beseech Him to make use of this foundation, for I have a greater joy when a foundation is made under persecution and with trouble, and I speak of them the more willingly.

34. It is true the sisters who were already there had been in trouble for nearly six years—at least for more than the five years and a half which have gone by since they went into this house of the glorious S. Anne. I do not speak of their poverty and toil in earning their food, for they never would ask alms ; the reason of that was that they would not have their neighbours think they were there to be supported by them ; neither do I speak of their great penance, of their long fasts, of their scanty food, of their hard beds, and of the small house which, in the strict enclosure they always observed, was hard enough to bear. What was hardest to bear, they told me, was the earnest longing they had to put on the habit,

<sup>47</sup> Cantando muchos villancicos a proposito de la venida tan deseada de las religiosas (*Repes*, ii. 30).

and which was a most grievous torment to them night and day, for they thought they were never to wear it ; and accordingly their constant prayer, and that most frequently with tears, was that God would bestow that grace upon them. When they saw any difficulty arise they were distressed beyond measure, and multiplied their penances. They stinted themselves in their food, that out of their earnings they might have the means of paying the messengers who came to me, and of showing what gratitude they could in their poverty to those who were able to help them in any way. I see clearly myself ever since I conversed with them and saw how saintly they were, that they must have obtained their admission into the order by their prayers and tears, and so I looked on the possession of such souls as these as a much greater treasure than a rich endowment, and my hope is the house will prosper greatly.

35. When we entered the house they were standing at the door within, each of them dressed as usual, for they were dressed as they were when they first came, and would never put on the habit of beatas, hoping for ours ; what they wore, however, was most modest, and showed plainly how little thought they had taken for themselves ; they were so poorly clad, and almost all of them so thin, as to show that they had been living a most penitential life. They received us with tears of great joy, and those tears were certainly not feigned. Their great virtue shone forth in their joy, in their humility, and in their obedience to the prioress and to all those who came to make the foundation ; they could not do enough to please them. All the fear they had was lest the nuns should go back when they saw their poverty and the smallness of the house. Not one of

them had ever exercised any authority over another, but each one had with great affection laboured to the utmost of her strength. Two of them, and they were the eldest, managed all their affairs when necessary ; the rest never spoke to anybody, and would not do so. The door of the house had a bolt only, no lock, and the eldest answered at it ; none of the others ventured near it. They slept very little that they might earn their bread and not miss their prayer, in which they spent many hours—on festivals the whole day.

36. They directed themselves by means of the books of Fray Luis of Granada and of Fray Peter of Alcantara. Most of the time was spent in saying the divine office—they could hardly read it ; one only could read well—and that in breviaries that differed one from another ; some of these, being of the old Roman form,<sup>48</sup> had been given them by certain ecclesiastics who used them no longer, others they had got anyhow, and, as they did not know how to read, they spent many hours upon them. They did not say the office where strangers could hear them ; God accepted their intention and toil, but they must have said very little that was correct. When the father Fray Antonio of Jesus began to know them he made them say the office of our Lady only. They had an oven in which they baked their bread, and everything was orderly done, as if they had some one to give directions. The effect on me was to make me give thanks to our Lord, and the more I conversed with them

<sup>48</sup> At this time the breviary and missal were corrected and reformed by S. Pius V, whereby the old books became unserviceable. The Saint calls them the 'old Roman' to distinguish them from the new books, and to show that they had been used by the secular clergy, and were not the breviaries of any religious order.



the more glad I was that I had come. I believe that, whatever difficulties I might have had to undergo, I should not have shrunk from them to bring consolation to these souls.<sup>49</sup> Those of my companions who remained told me that in the beginning, during the first days, they were conscious of a certain unwillingness to live with them, but that when they came to know them, and saw how good they were, they were very glad to stay, and conceived a great affection for them. Sanctity and goodness can do great things.

37. The truth is, those who came with me were so good that, even if they met with many difficulties and trials, they would have borne all nobly by the grace of our Lord, for they desire to suffer in His service ; and that sister who does not feel this desire must not look upon herself as a true Carmelite nun, because the aim of our desires must be, not rest but suffering, that we may in some measure be like unto Him our true bridegroom. May it please His Majesty to give us His grace for that end ! Amen.

38. The hermitage of S. Anne began in this way. There lived here in Villanueva de la Jara, an ecclesiastic born in Zamora, who had been a friar of the order of our Lady of Carmel. His name was Diego de Guadalajara ; he had a devotion to the glorious S. Anne, and so he made this hermitage close to his house, and thereby had an opportunity of hearing mass. He went to Rome because of this great devotion, and obtained a bull for many indulgences in this church and hermitage.

<sup>49</sup> On the feast of S. Mathias, 25th February, the Saint gave the habit to the nine women (see § 7) who had shut themselves up in the hermitage of S. Anne. The sermon on the occasion was preached by Fray Antonio of Jesus (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. iii. 10).

He was a pious and interior man. He made a will when he was dying, and gave this house and all that belongs to it for a monastery of nuns of our Lady of Carmel ; and if that could not be done, then for a chaplain who was to say certain masses every week, but that as soon as and whenever the monastery should be founded there should be no obligation to say those masses. For more than twenty years the hermitage belonged to the chaplain, and the property was ruined, for, though the women took possession of the house, they had nothing but the house. The chaplain lived in another belonging to the chapel, which he will now give up to us with the rest, and that is very little ; but the compassion of God is so great that He will not fail to befriend the house of His glorious grandmother. May it please His Majesty to be ever served therein, and may all creatures praise Him for ever and ever ! Amen.

J. H. S.

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TREATS OF THE FOUNDATION OF S. JOSEPH OF OUR LADY OF LA CALLE IN PALENCIA, ON THE FEAST OF KING DAVID, IN THE YEAR 1580

- 1.—The Saint unwilling to undertake the new foundation.—2. She is discouraged.—3. And in trouble about it.—4. She consults Father Ripalda.—5. Discouragement.—6. But is encouraged by our Lord.—7. And begins the foundation.—8. Takes possession.—9. And makes the foundation.—10. She seeks a house for the nuns.—11. Is shown one.—12. Which she disapproves of.—13. And treats for the purchase of others.—14. Device of Satan.—15. Effect of the divine locution.—16. The Saint refers to her confessor.—17. She reveals the locution to the canon.—18. The Saint's joy in the new house.—19. Special providence of God.—20. The houses are bought.—21. By the two canons.—22. Fruits of the monastery.—23. The Saint takes possession of the new house.—24. The reform established.—25. Joy of the Saint at the separation from the Fathers of the Mitigation.—26. Danger of slight relaxation.

I. WHEN I came away from making the foundation of Villanueva de la Jara<sup>1</sup> I was ordered by my superior<sup>2</sup> to go to Valladolid; it was at the request of the bishop of Palencia, Don Alvaro de Mendoza, who accepted and at all times helped the first monastery, that of S. Joseph, Avila, and always does help us in whatever concerns the order.<sup>3</sup> When he had given up the see of Avila, being translated to Palencia, our Lord put it into his heart to have a monastery of this holy order founded there. On my arrival in Valladolid I became so seriously ill

<sup>1</sup> The Saint left Villanueva de la Jara on 20th March 1580 (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. vii. 1), and reached Toledo on Saturday in Passiontide, 26th March, having travelled the thirty leagues of road without fatigue (letter of 3rd April 1580).

<sup>2</sup> Fray Angel de Salazar, whom the nuncio, Monsignore Segá, had appointed to govern and protect the friars and nuns of the reform.

<sup>3</sup> See below, ch. xxxi. at the end.

that they thought I must die.<sup>4</sup> I was so unwilling to make the foundation, and so far from thinking I could do anything, that, notwithstanding the importunity of the prioress<sup>5</sup> of our monastery in Valladolid, who wished much to see the foundation made, I could not persuade myself to undertake it; neither had I the means to begin it, for the monastery was to be founded in poverty, and I was told that it could not be maintained, because the place was very poor.

2. This foundation, with that of Burgos, had been under consideration for nearly a year, and heretofore I was not so unwilling to make it; then, however, when I had gone to Valladolid for no other end, I found that the disadvantages of it were many. I know not whether this came from my illness and the weakness it left me in, or from the devil, who wanted to hinder the good that was afterwards done. In truth, I am lost in amazement and grief—and I have often complained of it to our Lord—at the great share which the poor soul has in the weakness of the body, for it seems to have nothing to do but to observe its laws according to its needs, and anything else which makes it suffer.

3. One of the greatest trials and miseries of this life

<sup>4</sup> The year 1580 witnessed an universal outbreak of influenza so that it became known as *el año del catarro*. S. Teresa who already in February of that year had complained of being 'quite broken down and old' was attacked by the disease when at Valladolid in the autumn, and narrowly escaped death. Although, on 4th October, she wrote to Father Gratian that her health is good, her appetite better, and that she gradually is regaining her strength, she never fully recovered; her complexion, hitherto fresh and healthy, became changed and she bore henceforth visible traces of old age.

<sup>5</sup> This was Maria de Ocampo, a niece of the Saint. She made her profession in S. Joseph's of Avila, and is the novice spoken of in ch. i. 2. The Saint speaks of her also in her *Life*, ch. xxxii. 13; see note 6 there.

seems to me to be the absence of a grand spirit to keep the body under control ; illnesses and grievous afflictions, though they are a trial, I think nothing of if the soul is strong, for it praises God, and sees that everything comes from His hand. But to be on the one hand suffering, and on the other doing nothing, is to be in a fearful state especially for a soul that has had earnest desires never to rest inwardly or outwardly, but to spend itself wholly in the service of its great God ; there is no help for it but in patience and confessing its wretchedness, and in being resigned to the will of God, so that He may use it for what purposes He pleases, and as He pleases. This was the state I was in then : though my strength had begun to come back, yet such was my weakness that I lost that confidence I usually had when I had to begin any of these foundations. I thought everything impossible, and it would have been of great service to me if I could have found any one to encourage me ; but, as it was, some helped me to be afraid ; others, though they made me hope a little, could not overcome my faintheartedness.

4. At that time came thither a father of the society, the doctor Ripalda,<sup>6</sup> a great servant of God, who at one time used to hear my confession. I told him the state I was in, and that I looked upon him as standing to me in the place of God—he must tell me what he thought of it. He began by rousing my courage, and told me that my cowardice was the effect of old age ; but I saw well enough it was not, for I am older to-day and I feel none of it ; and he too must have known it was not, and therefore rebuked me in that way that I might not think it came from God.

<sup>6</sup> See *Relation*, vii. 5.



5. The foundation of Palencia and that of Burgos were then carried on together, and I was without means for the one and the other ; but this was not the cause of my discouragement, for I usually begin with less. He bade me give it up on no account, and the same thing had been said to me before in Toledo by a provincial of the society, Baltasar Alvarez,<sup>7</sup> but I was then in good health. That was enough to make me resolved on going on ; and yet, though I was very much moved by it, I was not altogether resolved, because either the devil, or, as I have just said, my illness held me back ; however, I became much more willing to go on. The prioress of Valladolid did all she could to help me, for she wished much for the foundation in Palencia, but she also had her fears when she saw me so lukewarm. Now let the true fire come—for nobody, not even the servants of God, could give me courage—and it is done ; and that will show it was generally not I who did anything in these foundations, but He only who is almighty.

6. One day, still in doubt, and not determined on making either of the foundations, I implored our Lord, when I had just received communion, to give me light that I might in all things do His will : for my lukewarmness was not such as to make me falter for a moment in that desire. Our Lord said to me, as it were reproaching me, ‘What art thou afraid of ? When did I ever fail thee ? I am to-day what I have always been ; do not give up these two foundations.’<sup>8</sup> O the great God, how different are Thy words from the words of men ! So my courage and resolution came, the

<sup>7</sup> This was the old confessor of the Saint in Avila, and her constant friend. See *Life*, ch. xxiv. 6.

<sup>8</sup> See below, ch. xxxi. 4.

whole world was not strong enough to oppose me, and I began at once to make my preparations, and our Lord to furnish the means.<sup>9</sup>

7. I received two nuns, that we might have wherewithal to buy a house ; and, though they told me it was not possible to live by alms in Palencia, it was as if they said nothing, for as to founding it with an endowment I saw it could not be done then, and as God commanded it to be made His Majesty would see to that. Accordingly, though I had not quite recovered my health, I made up my mind to go, though the weather was rough, for I left Valladolid on the feast of the Innocents in the year already mentioned,<sup>10</sup> for a nobleman who lived there, having gone to live elsewhere, had given us until Midsummer<sup>11</sup> in the following year a house he had hired. I wrote to a canon of that city, though I did not know him ; but a friend of his had told me that he was a servant of God, and I had a firm persuasion he would be a great help to us, because our Lord himself—it has been so in the other foundations—finds everywhere some one to help us, because His Majesty knows how little I can do myself. I sent to the canon begging him to have the house<sup>12</sup> emptied for us as secretly as he could, for some one was staying in it whom he was not to tell what it was wanted for : notwithstanding that some of the chief persons there had shown their good-

<sup>9</sup> The Saint asked Fray Jerome of the Mother of God to visit Palencia, which he did, though he was of the opinion of the Saint, and against the foundation. He returned in the same dispositions, but a few days after he came to the Saint and said that he was willing the foundation should be made (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. vii. 4).

<sup>10</sup> See ch. xxviii. 31 ; it was the same year, 1580.

<sup>11</sup> Hasta San Juan.

<sup>12</sup> The house was the property of Doña Isabel de Moya (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. vii. 5).

will, and the bishop very much so, I looked on it as being much safer to let nobody know of the matter.

8. The canon Reinoso<sup>13</sup>—it was to him I wrote—did this work so well that he had not only had the house made ready for us but beds also, with many comforts abundantly supplied ; and we had need of all, for it was very cold, and the day before had been toilsome because of a thick fog in which we could scarcely see one another. In truth, we had hardly any rest till we had made everything ready for saying mass the next morning.<sup>14</sup> I would have that done before anybody knew we were there, because I have found that to be the best way in making these foundations,<sup>15</sup> for if we begin to consult people Satan disturbs everything ; however, he cannot succeed, but he gives trouble. So it was done ; for early in the morning when it was scarcely dawn, mass was said by a priest who came with us, named Porras, a great servant of God, with us was also a friend of the nuns of Valladolid, Agustin de Vitoria,<sup>16</sup> who had lent me money to furnish the house, and who had been a great comfort to us on the road.

<sup>13</sup> Don Jerome de Reinoso, nephew of Don Francis de Reinoso, who became bishop of Cordova ; he had been trained in the spiritual life by Father Baltasar Alvarez. He died 20th December 1599.

<sup>14</sup> Mass was said 29th December, the feast of S. Thomas of Canterbury, which is also the day on which king David is commemorated in the martyrology ; the Carmelites kept that of king David.

<sup>15</sup> The Saint had not been able to get the consent of the corregidor, don Prudencio, and Fray Jerome of the Mother of God went to him the second time on the part of the Saint to ask for it. The corregidor said, ‘ Well, father, let her have what she asks for. The mother Teresa must be in possession of some decree of the royal council of God, which compels us to do her will whether we like it or not ’ (*Reforma, ib.*)

<sup>16</sup> He was not, as has been generally supposed, a priest, but a nobleman married to Doña Isabel de Castro, by whom he had several children, one of whom became a Carmelite nun at Valladolid. (*Oeuvres*, iv. 135, note 1.)

9. We came here five nuns,<sup>17</sup> and a lay sister<sup>18</sup> who for some time has been with me as my companion, but she is so great a servant of God and so provident, that she is able to help me more than any other. That night we had but little sleep, though the journey, as I said, had been fatiguing because of the rain. It was a joy to me that the foundation was made on the day on which the feast of king David is kept, for I have a devotion to him.<sup>19</sup> I sent immediately in the morning a message to the bishop, for he did not even know that I had arrived that day.<sup>20</sup> He came to us at once with the great affection which he has always had for us ; he told us he should give us all the bread we should require, and gave his steward orders to furnish many things. The order owes him so much that every one who shall read the story of these foundations is bound to pray to our Lord for him, living and dead ; and I ask to have it done as an act of charity. The joy shown by the people was so great and so general as to make it very remarkable, for there was no one who took it amiss. It was known that the bishop wished it, and that was a help to us, for he is greatly beloved there ; but the whole population is the best and noblest I have seen, and accordingly I rejoice more and more every day that I have made a foundation there.

10. As the house was not our own, we began at once to treat for the purchase of another, for though that we

<sup>17</sup> These were Isabel of Jesus, born in Segovia, the prioress ; Beatriz of Jesus, sub-prioress ; Ines of Jesus, cousin of the Saint, professed in the monastery of the Incarnation ; and Catherine of the Holy Ghost.

<sup>18</sup> The Venerable Anne of S. Bartholomew.

<sup>19</sup> See *Life*, ch. xvi. 5.

<sup>20</sup> From a letter of 13th January 1581 it appears that the bell in token of the inauguration of the convent was hung two days later.

were in was for sale, it was very badly placed, and I thought, with the help I should have from the nuns who were to live in it, I might treat with some security, for, though that was but little, it was much for that place. After all, if God had not sent us the good friends He gave us it would have been all to no purpose. The good canon Reinoso brought with him another friend, the canon Salinas,<sup>21</sup> a man of great charity and discernment, and between them both the matter was looked after just as if it was their own, and I believe with more zeal ; and they have been always friends of this house.

11. There was a building in the town, a hermitage devoutly frequented, dedicated to our Lady, with the title of our Lady of the Street. It is a very holy place in the eyes of the whole country and of the town itself, and many people resort to it. It seemed to his lordship and to everybody that we should be well placed close to that church. There was no house belonging to it, but there were two adjoining it, which, if we bought them, would be enough for us if we had the church also. This the chapter and a certain confraternity would have to give up to us, and accordingly we began to take steps for obtaining it. The chapter at once gave it to us as a gift, and, though I had some trouble in coming to an understanding with the members of the confraternity, they did so also ; for, as I have said before, the people of the place are good, and I have nowhere seen better.

12. When the owners of the houses saw that we wished to get them they raised the price, and very reasonably so. I would go and see them, but they seemed to me and to those who went with us so poor that I would not

<sup>21</sup> Martin Alonso Salinas. The Saint speaks of him again below, ch. xxxi. 18. He died 25th July 1592.



have them on any account. Later on I saw clearly that Satan, on his part, exerted himself because it vexed him that we were come. The two canons who helped us thought we should be there at too great a distance from the cathedral church, yet it was the most thickly peopled part of the town. In a word, we all made up our minds, as that house would not suit, to look for another. This the two canons began to do with such care and diligence that I gave thanks to our Lord, and neglected nothing they thought to the purpose. They were satisfied at last with a house belonging to a person they call Tamayo. Some parts of it were very well arranged, so that it was exceedingly convenient for us, and it stood near the house of a great nobleman, Suero de Vega,<sup>22</sup> who was a great friend of ours, and who, with others living in that part of the town, was very much pleased at our going to live there. The house was not large enough, but another would be given us with it, which, however, was not so placed that we could well join the one to the other.

13. In short, they gave such an account of the matter that I wished the purchase to be made, but the two canons would not settle anything before I saw the place myself. I felt the going out among people very keenly, and I had so much confidence in them as to make it unnecessary. At last I went, and also to see the houses by the church of our Lady, though not with the intention of taking them, but to hinder the owner of the other house from thinking that we could not help taking his. To me, and to those who went with me to see

<sup>22</sup> He was the son of Juan de Vega president of Castille, and his wife was Doña Elvira Manrique, daughter of the count of Osorno (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. vii. 4).

them, they looked so wretched, as I said before, but we are now astonished that we could have thought so badly of them. In this mind we went to the other house, being fully determined to take it, and none other ; and, though we found many difficulties, we made light of them, notwithstanding the great trouble we should have in overcoming them, for all that part of it which was fitted for our living in would have to be pulled down in order to build the church, and after all an inconvenient one. A strange thing this predetermination to do a particular thing ! in truth, it taught me to have little confidence in myself, though I was not alone in my then delusion. In a word, we went away fully resolved that no other would do for us, and to give the money asked, which was too much, and to write to the owner, for he was not in the town ; he was, however, not far off.

14. This long account of the purchase of a house will seem foolish until we consider the object which Satan must have had, that we should not go to that of our Lady ; and I tremble whenever I think of it. All having made up their mind, as I said before, to take no other house but that, the next morning during mass I began to be very anxious, doubting if we had done right, and ill at ease, so that I had hardly any peace during the whole of mass. I went to receive the Most Holy Sacrament, and at the moment of communion I heard these words, 'This is the house for thee,' in such a way that I made up my mind at once not to take the other house at all of which I was thinking, but that of our Lady.<sup>23</sup> I began to consider the difficulties of withdrawing from a bargain which had been carried so far, and which they who had so carefully considered it wished

<sup>23</sup> See *Relation*, xi. 4, where the Saint speaks of this.

so much to see settled, and our Lord answered me, 'They do not know how much I am offended in that place, and this will be a great reparation.' I thought it was no delusion, but I did not believe ; yet I knew well, by the effect it had upon me, that it was the Spirit of God. He said to me at once, 'It is I.'

15. I became perfectly calm, delivered from my former uneasiness, though I did not know how to undo what had been done, and to remove the evil impression given to my sisters of that house ; for I had spoken strongly of the unfitness of it, and that I would not have them go there without seeing it for anything in the world. However, I did not think so much about this, for I was well aware that they would take in good part whatever I did ; but my doubts were about those who wished to have the other house. These would look on me, I thought, as capricious and uncertain, seeing that I changed so quickly—what I hate exceedingly. All this thinking had no influence whatever, much or little, to make me give up the house of our Lady, neither did I remember that it was not a good house ; for if the nuns could hinder but one venial sin everything else was of no moment, and every one of them, if they only knew what I knew, would have been, I believe, of the same mind.

16. I had recourse to this—I used to go to confession to the canon Reinoso, who was one of two who befriended me, though I had never told him anything of the kind before, because nothing had happened to make it necessary for me to do so ; and, as I have been accustomed when these spiritual visitations occur always to do that which my confessor may advise, in order that I might travel on the safe road, I determined to tell him

all as a great secret, though my mind was not made up to leave undone what I had been told to do, without a feeling of great pain. I would have ended, however, by doing what he told me, for I trusted in our Lord that He would do again what I have known Him do at other times, for His Majesty changes the confessor's mind, though of another opinion, so that he shall do what our Lord wills.

17. I spoke to him first of the many times that our Lord was wont to show me in this way what to do, and that before now many things had happened whereby I knew it to be the work of His Spirit, and then told him what had taken place ; but still I would do what he desired, though it might be painful. He was a most prudent and saintly man, and endowed with the gift of good counsel in everything, but he is young, and, though he saw that this change would be talked about, his decision was not that I should refrain from doing what I had learnt. I told him we should wait for the return of the messenger, and he thought so too, for I was now confident that God would find a way out of it ; and so it came to pass, for the owner of the house, though we had given for it what he wanted and had asked for, now asked three hundred ducats more, which seemed absurd, for the sum to be paid was more than the house was worth. Herein we saw the hand of God, for the sale of the house was very serviceable to its owner, and to ask for more when the bargain had been made was not reasonable. This helped us exceedingly, and we said we could never agree with him ; but it was not enough to excuse us, because it was plain that for the sake of three hundred ducats we ought not to give up a house that seemed fit for a monastery. I told my confessor

not to trouble himself about my good name now that he thought I ought to do it, but merely to say to his friend that I was bent on buying the house of our Lady, whether it might be dear or cheap, in good or in bad repair. His friend has a singularly quick understanding, and, though nothing was said to him, I believe he guessed the reason when he saw so sudden a change, and accordingly he never pressed me further in the matter.

18. We all saw afterwards the mistake we might have made in buying that house, for we are now amazed when we consider how much better is the one we have, to say nothing of the chief thing of all, and which everybody sees, the service of our Lord and of His glorious Mother therein, and the removal of occasions of sin, for nightly vigils were kept there, and therefore, as it was only a hermitage, many things might have been done there, the hindering of which was a vexation to Satan, and we ourselves are glad to be able to serve our Mother, our Lady, our Protectress in anything. It was very ill done on our part not to have gone there sooner, for we ought never to have looked at any other house. It is plain enough that the devil makes us blind to many things, for there are many conveniences in the house which we should not have found elsewhere; the people, too, wished us to take it, and their joy is exceedingly great; and even those who would have us go to the other house afterwards looked on this as much the best.

19. Blessed be He for ever and ever who gave me light herein!—and He does so whenever I happen to do anything well; for every day I am amazed more and more at the little ability I have for anything. This must not be understood as humility, for I see it to be so more



clearly day by day. It seems to be our Lord's good pleasure that I and everybody else shall learn that it is His Majesty alone who makes these foundations, and that, as He by means of clay gave sight to the blind,<sup>24</sup> so He will have one blind as I am not to act blindly. Certainly we showed great blindness in this matter, as I said before, and whenever I think of it I give thanks anew to our Lord, only even to do this I am not able, and I do not know how people can bear me. Blessed be His compassion for ever ! Amen.

20. Those saintly friends of the Virgin then made haste at once to purchase the houses, and they had them cheap in my opinion. They laboured hard, for in every one of these foundations God would have those who helped us to gain merit, and I am the one who does nothing, as I have elsewhere said, and wish never to refrain from saying, because it is true. Then, the help they gave us in arranging the house, and also in paying the money for it,<sup>25</sup> and in becoming our sureties also, as I had no money myself, was very great, for before I found any to be sureties for us in other places, and that for not so large a sum, I was put to great trouble ; and they were right, for if they did not trust in our Lord they would not have done so, because I have no means. But His Majesty has always been so gracious unto me that nobody lost anything by doing me that kindness at any time, nor have I ever failed to repay them fully, and I look upon that as a very great grace.

21. As the owners of the house were not satisfied with

<sup>24</sup> S. John ix. 6 : 'Fecit lutum ex sputo, et linivit lutum super oculos ejus.'

<sup>25</sup> The dowry of two novices was added to the sum furnished by the two canons (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. vii. 6.)

the two canons as sureties, these went in search of the steward,<sup>26</sup> whose name was Prudencio ; but I do not know that my recollection of his name is exact —so they called him now—for as he was called the steward I did not learn his name. He was so charitable to us that our debt to him was and is great. He asked them whither they were going : they answered, to find him that he might sign the bond. He laughed and said, ‘So this is the way you ask me to become security for so much money?’ And thereupon, without dismounting from his mule, he signed, which is a wonderful thing for these times. I should like to speak much in praise of the charity of the people of Palencia, of all together and of each in particular : the truth is, it seemed to me like that of the primitive church—at least it is not very common in the world now ; they knew we had no revenue, and that they would have to find us food, and yet they not only did not forbid us to come to them, but declared our coming to be a very great grace which God gave them ; and if it be looked at in the true light they spoke truly, for, if it did no more than give them another church, wherein the Most Holy Sacrament had another house, that is a great thing.

22. May He be blessed for ever, amen ! for it is plain enough that He is pleased to be here, and that something wrong which must have been done in the place is done no longer—for as much people kept vigil here formerly, and as the hermitage was lonely, every one that came did not come out of devotion—that is a change for the better. The image of our Lady was in a most unseemly place. The bishop, Don Alvaro de Mendoza, built a chapel for it, and by degrees much was done for

<sup>26</sup> The corregidor of the bishop mentioned in § 9.

the honour and glory of the glorious Virgin and of her Son. Praise Him for ever ! Amen, amen.

23. At last, when the house was fully prepared for the nuns to go into it, the bishop would have them go with great solemnity, and accordingly it was done one day within the octave of Corpus Christi ;<sup>27</sup> he came himself from Valladolid, and was attended by the chapter, the religious orders, and almost the whole population of the place, to the sound of music.<sup>28</sup> We went from the house in which we were staying, all of us in procession, in our white mantles, with veiled faces, to the parish church,<sup>29</sup> close to the house of our Lady. Her image had come for us, and we took the Most Holy Sacrament thence and carried it into our church in great pomp and order, which stirred up much devotion. There were more nuns, for those who were going to make the foundation in Soria were there ;<sup>30</sup> and we

<sup>27</sup> In 1581 Corpus Christi fell on Thursday 25th May, and the procession of the nuns took place on the octave day (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. vii. 7.) From a letter of 29th May, it appears, however, that the procession took place on Tuesday within the octave.

<sup>28</sup> The Saint walked immediately behind the image of our Lady with the bishop and Don Francis de Reinoso, followed by the magistracy and the municipality. Then the prioress, Isabel of Jesus, between the corregidor and Suero de Vega. The wind was high, and all the candles were blown out with the sole exception of those in the hands of the nuns (*Reforma, ibid.*).

<sup>29</sup> The church of S. Lazarus ; a halt was made at the convent of S. Clare.

<sup>30</sup> They were seven in number (*Reforma, ut supra*). In the procession also were Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, and his rival at a later time, Fray Nicholas Doria. The nuns remained here ten years, but, as the abuses of which the Saint complains did not wholly cease, and the vigils were continued to a late hour of the night, to the great disturbance of the nuns, the house was abandoned, but with regret, because the Saint had chosen it ; and the nuns took possession of another, where they lived for some years in great poverty (*Reforma, ut supra*, § 8).

all had candles in our hands. I believe our Lord was greatly honoured that day in that place.<sup>31</sup> May He grant it may be always so of all creatures! Amen.

24. When I was in Palencia it pleased God to make a separation of the friars of the reform from the friars of the mitigation, each division to be a province by itself, which is all that we desired for our own peace and quietness.<sup>32</sup> On the petition of Don Philip, our Catholic king, a most ample brief<sup>33</sup> was brought from Rome for the purpose, and his majesty helped us in the end as he had in the beginning. A chapter was held in

<sup>31</sup> The monastery of Palencia was called S. Joseph, and now on its removal to the hermitage it was called S. Joseph of our Lady of the Street (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. vii. 7.)

<sup>32</sup> When the troubles of the friars ceased in July, 1579, by order of the nuncio Monsignore Segá, S. Teresa chose Fray Juan of Jesus to be the agent of the order in Rome. He was then prior of Mancera, and the Saint sent him to Avila, where she was staying, and gave him his instructions. He had for his companion Fray Diego of the Trinity, prior of Pastrana. They had to travel in secular garments for fear of their brethren of the mitigation. They obtained the bull of separation, from Gregory XIII—*Piâ consideratione*—dated 22nd June 1580, and made haste to return to Spain. They arrived in Toledo 26th September, and sent word to the Saint, then in Valladolid, of the successful issue of their mission. By this time the friars of the old observance were weary of the struggle, and there was no further trouble from without (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxxix. 7; bk. v. ch. viii. 1).

<sup>33</sup> The execution of the bull mentioned in the foregoing note was committed to the archbishops of Toledo and Seville, with the bishop of Palencia. The archbishop of Seville, Don Christobal de Rojas y Sandoval, dying soon after, the king proposed to the Pope to put the old friend of the reform in the commission, Fray Pedro Fernandez, then prior of S. Stephen's, Salamanca. The Pope consented, and the brief announcing the fact was received by the king 9th October 1580. Father Jerome of the Mother of God went to Salamanca to arrange matters with Fray Pedro, whom he found on his death-bed. When Fray Pedro was dead the king begged the Pope to appoint Fray Juan de las Cuevas; the Pope consented, and the brief was received in Spain 4th January 1581. That is the brief referred to in the text (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. viii. 4-6).

Alcalá under the presidency of a reverend father, Fray Juan de las Cuevas,<sup>34</sup> then prior in Talavera. He is of the order of S. Dominic, and was appointed in Rome on the nomination of the king : a most holy and prudent man, as it was necessary he should be for such a work as this. The cost was borne by the king, and at his command the whole university helped the friars. The chapter<sup>35</sup> was held in great peace and concord in the college of S. Cyril of the barefooted Carmelites,<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Born in Coca ; he was a friar of S. Stephen's, Salamanca. In 1596 he was nominated bishop of Avila, and two years later departed this life. His name was Juan Velasquez de las Cuevas. Fray Juan, the new commissary, before he entered on his office, sent Fray Nicholas of Jesus Maria with the original bulls and briefs to Fray Angel de Salazar, that he, having seen them, might know that his own commission, given him by the nuncio, had expired, and for the future refrain from all acts of jurisdiction over the reform of S. Teresa. That done, Fray Juan returned to his monastery in Talavera, and there, 1st February 1581, summoned all the priors of the reform to a chapter to be held by him in Alcalá in the beginning of March (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. ix. 1).

<sup>35</sup> The priors of the order, with their fellows, in obedience to the summons of the commissary apostolic, assembled in Alcalá 3rd March 1581, and on that day the separation of the reform from the mitigation was definitively made and recorded. The former was to remain still subject to the general, but to be visited by none other than by friars of their own rule, or by the general in person. On the next day, Saturday, the definitors were elected, namely, the fathers Nicholas of Jesus Maria, prior of Pastrana ; Antonio of Jesus, prior of Manzera ; S. John of the Cross, rector of Baeza ; and Gabriel of the Assumption, socius of the prior of La Roda. Fray Ambrosio Mariano was chosen secretary. This done they proceeded to elect their provincial. The apostolic commissary proposed to them Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, who, the assembly being divided, was elected by only one vote more than was given for Fray Antonio of Jesus. On Sunday (Lætare) there was a general procession, and a theological disputation held in the evening, under the presidency of the commissary, the defender of the conclusions being Fray Juan of the Mother of God, against the learned doctors of the university (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. ix. x. 1).

<sup>36</sup> The college was founded in 1570 by Fray Baltasar of Jesus, the prince Ruy Gomez having supplied the means ; and the first rector of it was S. John of the Cross. It was at this time called the college of our



which we possess there. The father-master Fray Jerome Gratian of the Mother of God was elected provincial.<sup>37</sup>

25. But, as these fathers will give an account of this elsewhere, there is no reason why I should meddle with it. I have spoken of it because it was while I was occupied with this foundation that our Lord did a work that touched so nearly the honour and glory of His glorious Mother, our Lady and Patroness as she is, for the order is hers, and gave to me one of the greatest joys and pleasures that I could have in this life, for I had been for more than twenty-five years in trouble, persecution, and distress, too long to speak of; our Lord alone can know of them. Then to see the end of it all! No one, unless he knows the trouble I underwent, can tell the joy that I had in my heart, and the desire I had that all the world should give thanks to our Lord, and that we should pray to Him for our holy king Don Philip, whom God made use of to bring everything to so happy an end, for the devil had been so cunning that the order would have been overthrown but for the king.

26. Now we are all in peace, friars of the mitigation and friars of the reform, no one hinders us in the service Lady of Carmel; but in memory of the first chapter of the barefooted Carmelites, held there 6th March 1581, the feast of Cyril, the old name was changed into that by which the Saint calls it in the text (*Reforma*, bk. ii. ch. xliii. 5; and bk. v. ch. x. 2).

<sup>37</sup> Fray Jerome was at the time prior of Los Remedios in Seville, having been elected 19th February, and confirmed by the superior Fray Angel de Salazar, 10th March 1580, in Salamanca. His election as provincial was probably due to the influence of S. Teresa, but Fray Antonio was very nearly chosen. The latter was now worn out, and the Saint greatly mistrusted his gifts of government, and thought he might do much harm in the order (Letter to Father Gratian, February 1581. *El daño que haria ahora*!).

of our Lord. Therefore, my brethren and sisters, make haste to serve His Majesty, who has so abundantly heard our prayers. Let those who are now alive, who have seen these things with their own eyes, consider His graciousness unto us, and the troubles and disquiet from which He has delivered us ; and let those who are to come after us, who will find everything easy, for the love of our Lord never allow any observance tending to perfection to fall into disuse. Let them never give men occasion to say of them what is said of some orders, 'Their beginning was praiseworthy'—and we are beginning now—but let them strive to go on from good to better. Let them consider that the devil, by means of very slight relaxations, makes an opening by which very great ones may creep in. Let it never happen to them to say, 'This is nothing—these are extremes.' O my daughters, everything is important if it does not help us onwards. I beseech you for the love of our Lord to keep in mind how soon everything passes away, and how good our Lord has been to us in bringing us to the order, and how severely she shall be punished who shall be the first to be lax in anything. Do you direct your eyes to the race of those holy prophets from whom we are descended—what saints we have in heaven who wore this habit ! Let us dare with a holy boldness, by the grace of God, to be ourselves like unto them. The fight, my sisters, will be but for a moment, and the issue is for ever. Let us leave alone those things which are nothing, and attend to those which bring us near to Him who is our end, to serve and love Him more and more, for He will be for ever and ever. Amen, amen.

THANKS BE TO GOD !

## I. H. S.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY  
IN SORIA, IN THE YEAR 1581. THE FIRST MASS SAID ON  
THE FEAST OF OUR FATHER S. ELISEUS

1. Don Alonso Velasquez.—2. The Saint consents to found in Soria.—
3. Story of the foundress of Soria.—4. Preparations for the journey.—5. Nicholas of Jesus-Mary.—6. The journey.—7. The arrival.—8. The Saint takes possession.—9. Infirmary of the bishop.—10. His meritorious life.—11. The real founder of Soria.—12. Pedro de Ribera.—13. Hardships on the road.—14. The Saint's hopes of the monastery.

I. WHEN I was in Palencia, on the business of the foundation now described, I received a letter from Dr. Velasquez,<sup>1</sup> bishop of Osma; I had had relations with him when he was canon and professor in the cathedral of Toledo, and when I was harassed by certain misgivings, for I knew he was a most learned man and a great servant of God, and so after many importunities

<sup>1</sup> Don Alonso Velasquez heard the confession of the Saint during her stay in Toledo after the foundation of her monastery in Seville. He was born in Tudela de Duero, and was successively bishop of Osma and archbishop of Compostella. He made on foot the visitation of Osma, and, worn out by the gout and other infirmities, he begged permission to resign Compostella. Don Philip II would consent to the resignation only on condition of his naming two persons whom he judged fit to be made archbishops. He did so, and the king chose one of the two, and proposed him to the Pope. As Don Alonso was poor, the king asked him what pension was to be assigned from the revenues of the see for his own use. He said that for himself, two chaplains, and two servants a thousand ducats would suffice. The king insisted on the assignation of twelve thousand ducats. Don Alonso resigned, and retired to Talavera to die. The archbishop out of the twelve thousand ducats accepted only one-half. He died in 1587, and was buried in Tudela de Duero (*De la Fuente*).

I persuaded him to take upon himself the care of my soul, and to hear my confession.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding his many occupations, yet, because I begged him for the love of God to do it, and because he saw what straits I was in, he consented so readily that I was surprised, and he confessed and directed me all the time I remained in Toledo, which was long enough. I laid before him the state of my soul with exceeding plainness, as I am in the habit of doing. The service he rendered me was so very great that from that moment my misgivings began to lessen. The truth is, there was another reason, not to be told here. Nevertheless, he really did me a great service, for he made me feel safe by means of passages from the Holy Scripture, which is a way that has most effect upon me when I am certain that he who speaks understands it, and is also of good life : I was certain of both in his case.

2. The letter was written by him in Soria, where he then was. He told me that a lady, who was his penitent there, had spoken to him about founding a monastery of our nuns, of which he approved ; that he had promised her he would persuade me to go and make a foundation there ; that I must not fail him ; and that if I thought it right to do so I was to let him know, and that he would send for me. I was very glad, for, setting aside that it would be a good work to make a foundation there, I wished to make known to him certain matters relating to the state of my soul and also to see him, because I have a great affection for him, the fruit of the great service he has done me.

3. The lady the foundress was Doña Beatriz de Veamonte and Navarre—for she was descended from

<sup>2</sup> See *Relation*, ix. 1.

the kings of Navarre—the child of Don Francis de Veamonte,<sup>3</sup> of noble and illustrious lineage. She had been a wife for some years, had no children, was exceedingly wealthy, and for some time past had resolved to found a monastery of nuns. She spoke of it to the bishop, and he told her of the order of our Lady, the barefooted Carmelites. She was so pleased that she made great haste to carry out her purpose. She is very gentle, generous, and mortified ; in a word, a very great servant of God. She had in Soria an excellent house, well built and in a very good situation, and said that she would give it to us, with everything else that might be wanted for the foundation. She gave it, together with a sum of money which, at twenty per mill maravedises would bring in five hundred ducats a year. The bishop undertook to give a very fine church with a stone roof ; it was the parish church close by, which would have been useful with a gallery leading into it. He might very well give it, for it was poor, and there were many churches in the town, and he could assign the parish to another church. He gave me an account of all this in his letter. I discussed the whole matter with the father provincial, who was then here, who with all my friends decided that I was to write

<sup>3</sup> He was captain of the emperor's guard, and his daughter was married to Don Juan de Vinuesa, a great man in Soria, who was at this time dead. Doña Beatriz had a nephew, Don Francisco Carlo de Veamonte, who expected to inherit her possessions, and who was very angry with the Saint because she accepted his aunt's money. Fifteen years after this he saw the Saint, then dead, in a vision, and changed his life, retired from the world, and lived most holily, professed in the third order of S. Francis in Villa de Arebalo (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. xx. 7). Doña Beatriz some years later helped to found another monastery in Pamplona. In that house she took the habit herself as Beatriz of Christ, and died there, full of years and good deeds, in 1602 (*Vépes*, ii. 33).



by a special messenger and say they might come for me, for the foundation of Palencia was now made. I was very glad of it for the reason I gave before.

4. I began to collect the nuns I was to take with me : they were seven—the lady would rather have had more than fewer—with one lay sister,<sup>4</sup> my companion, and myself. A person came for us at once and in haste ; and, as I told him I would bring with me two barefooted friars, I took the father Fray Nicholas of Jesus Maria,<sup>5</sup> a man of great perfection and discernment—a Genoese by birth.

5. He was more than forty years old, I believe, when he received the habit—at least he is now upwards of forty, and it was not long ago—but he has made such great progress in a short time that it is clear our Lord chose him to help the order, which he did, in

<sup>4</sup> From Salamanca the Saint sent for Mary of Christ and Mary of Jesus ; from Segovia, Juana Bautista and Mary of S. Joseph ; from Medina, Catherine of Christ, who was to be prioress, Catherine of the Holy Ghost, and a lay sister, Maria Bautista. Doña Beatriz sent her chaplain ; the Bishop of Osma sent his also, with a man to provide for them on the road ; while the bishop of Palencia sent a minor canon of his church, afterwards the canon Pedro de Ribera (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. xx. 5). The Saint speaks of him below, § 12.

<sup>5</sup> Nicholas Doria was born in Genoa, 18th May 1539, the son of Domenico and Maria Doria. He came to Spain and settled in Seville as banker and rendered great services to Philip II whose finances he put on a sound basis. He was not there long before he saw the vanity of human success and the uncertainty of worldly honours. He gave up the world and became a priest. He had been long ago acquainted with Fray Mariano, who, going to Seville in 1573, brought him into relations with the Carmelites and S. Teresa herself. In the end he was won to the new order, and became a novice 24th March 1577, and was professed in Seville, 25th March 1578 (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xxix 2-6). He was of great service to the Saint during the trouble, and was looked on as the type of a zealous Carmelite, more rigid than Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, but apparently more trusted by his brethren. He was the first vicar-general of the reform in Spain.

these days of persecutions, which were so full of trouble, because the others who could have helped us were some of them in exile, others in prison. He, as he held no office—for as I have said, he had not been long in the order—was not thought so much of: that was the work of God, that he might remain to help me. He is very prudent, for when he was staying in the monastery of the mitigation in Madrid he was so reserved, as if he had other affairs to transact, that they never discovered he was engaged in ours, and so allowed him to remain. We wrote to each other continually, for I was then in the monastery of S. Joseph's in Avila,<sup>6</sup> and discussed what was necessary to be done, which was a comfort to him. This shows the difficulties of the order at that time, seeing that they made so much of me according to the saying,<sup>7</sup> 'For want of better.' During the whole of this time I had experience of his perfection and prudence, and hence he is one of those in the order for whom I have a great affection in our Lord, and whom I highly esteem.

6. He, then, with a companion, a lay brother,<sup>8</sup> went with us. I had no trouble on the road, for he whom the bishop had sent for us took great care of us, and helped us to the utmost of his power to find good lodgings, for when we entered the diocese of Osma the people provided us with good lodgings on being told that our coming was

<sup>6</sup> The Saint went from Toledo to Avila in July, 1577, when she placed the monastery under the jurisdiction of the order and remained there till 25th June 1579, returning thither again, 19th November. Soon after that she began again to make new foundations.

<sup>7</sup> *A falta de hombres buenos*: this is an allusion to an old proverb, *A falta de buenos mi marido alcalde*—for want of good men they made my husband a judge (*De la Fuente*).

<sup>8</sup> Fray Eliseus of the Mother of God (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. xx. 5).

the bishop's doing, so great is their affection for him. The weather was fine, and we made short journeys, so that there was no fatigue in travelling, only joy, for it was to me an exceeding great joy to listen to what people said of the holy life of the bishop.

7. We arrived at Burgo<sup>9</sup> the day before the octave of Corpus Christi, and went to Communion on Thursday, which was the day of the octave, the morning after our arrival, and dined there, because we could not reach Soria (before<sup>10</sup>) next day. That night we spent in a church, for there was no other place to lodge in, which did not displease us. The next morning we heard mass there, and reached Soria about five in the afternoon.<sup>11</sup> The saintly bishop was at a window of his house<sup>12</sup> when we passed, and thence gave us his blessing; it was a great comfort to me, for the blessing of a bishop and a saint is a great thing.

8. The lady the foundress was waiting for us at the door of her own house, for it was there the monastery was to be founded: we did not see how to make our way in, because of the great crowd present. That was nothing new, for wherever we go, so fond is the world of novelties, the crowd is so great as to be a grave annoyance were it

<sup>9</sup> Not Burgos in old Castille, an episcopal city raised in 1574 to the rank of an archbishopric, but Burgo de Osma: Osma being on one side of the river Duero, and decayed; Burgo being on the other.

<sup>10</sup> This word, though not in the original is required by the context.

<sup>11</sup> Father Francis de Ribera, S.J., says that he saw the Saint in Soria on his return from Rome, as he had done the year before in Valladolid when he was setting out on his journey. He stopped four days in Soria, but did not know for three days that the Saint was in the town. He speaks most pathetically of the loss he sustained by this, for it was the last time he ever saw her in this world (*Ribera*, iii. 11).

<sup>12</sup> The bishop was then a guest in the house of Don Juan de Castilla (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. xx. 3).

not that we cover our faces with our veils ; that enables us to bear it. The lady had a very large and very fine room made ready, wherein mass was to be said for the present, because a passage had to be made in the church which the bishop was to give us, and forthwith the next day, the feast of our father S. Eliseus<sup>13</sup> mass was said. The lady most abundantly furnished everything that we had need of, and left us in that room, wherein we kept

<sup>13</sup> There is a serious chronological difficulty about the date of this foundation. Saint Teresa says they arrived at Burgo de Osma on Wednesday, eve of the Octave of Corpus Christi, that is, since Corpus Christi in 1581 fell on 25th May, on Wednesday 31st May. They spent the Thursday at that place and continued the journey on Friday, arriving at Soria towards evening. *Y luego otro día que era de nuestro padre San Eliseo se dijo*, 'and on the very next day which was that of our father S. Eliseus the first mass was said.' That would lead us to Saturday 3rd June, but the feast of S. Eliseus, ever since it was introduced into the Carmelite breviary in 1399 was kept on the 14th, not on the 3rd. Various attempts have been made to reconcile these statements. The Bollandists suggest that the mass on the 3rd was a votive mass of S. Eliseus, and Mr Lewis went so far, in support of this opinion, as to alter the text, saying : 'and forthwith the next day mass was said in honour of our father S. Eliseus.' It has further been suggested that perhaps at that time the Spanish Carmelites celebrated S. Eliseus not on the 14th but on the 4th of June, in proof whereof it is alleged that Isabel of Jesus, prioress of Palencia, is stated (*Fuente, Obras*, vi. 83) to have made her profession on '4th June, day of S. Eliseus of our Order.' But against this is the circumstance that S. Teresa does not speak of the 4th but of the 3rd of June, and also that there is no evidence whatever of the alleged Spanish custom. The French Carmelite nuns are of opinion that S. Teresa mixes up two different things, the first mass on the third and a solemn mass on the 14th on the occasion of the official inauguration of the convent after the bell had been hung and other formalities fulfilled. In support of this they quote the act of Donation, dated 14th June, whereby Doña Beatriz de Beaumont gave to the convent a rent of five hundred ducats. This act was signed and sealed previous to the departure of Father Nicholas Doria as we learn from a letter dated 13th July 1581. Although it is impossible to settle the difficulty satisfactorily it appears to the present writer that the opinion of the French Carmelites does the smallest violence to the text and has more in its favour than any other.

ourselves enclosed until the passage was made, remaining there till the Transfiguration.<sup>14</sup>

9. On that day the first mass was said with great solemnity, a large congregation being present in the church. A father of the society<sup>15</sup> preached, the bishop having gone to Burgo, for he never loses a day or an hour, but is always at work, though he is not strong, and the sight of one of his eyes is gone. I had this sorrow there, for it was a very great grief to me that his sight, which was so profitable in the service of our Lord, was lost. God's judgments are His own. This must have happened to enable His servant to gain more merit, and to try his resignation to His will, for he did not refrain from labouring as he did before. He told me that he did not grieve over his loss any more than if it had happened to another. He felt sometimes that he should not think it a matter of regret if he lost the sight of the other eye, for he would then live in a hermitage, serving God without further obligation. That was always his vocation before he was made bishop, and he spoke of it to me occasionally, and had almost made up his mind to give up everything and go. I could not bear that, because I thought that as a bishop he would be of great service in the church of God, and accordingly wished him to be what he is, though on the day he was offered the bishopric—he sent word of it to me at once—I fell into very great distress about it, seeing him laid under so heavy a burden, and I could neither rest nor be at ease. I went into the choir and prayed for him to our Lord, and His Majesty made me calm in a moment, saying to

<sup>14</sup> August 6th. On the feast of the Assumption following the Saint gave the habit to two novices (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. xx. 5).

<sup>15</sup> The preacher was father Francis Carrera (*Ribera*, iii. 11).



me that he would serve Him greatly ; and so it seems.

10. Notwithstanding the loss of an eye, certain other very painful infirmities and unceasing work, he fasts four days in the week, and inflicts other penances on himself ; his food is very plain. When he visits the diocese he goes on foot ; his servants cannot bear it, and have complained of it to me. His servants must be pious persons, or they may not remain in his house. He does not trust important affairs to his vicars-general ; they must pass through his hands, and indeed I think everything does. For the first two years of his episcopate here he underwent a most unrelenting persecution from false witnesses, at which I was amazed, for in the administration of justice he is upright and true. That has now come to an end, for, though people went to the court to complain of him, and to every other place where they thought they could work evil against him, they did not prevail, for the good he was doing throughout his diocese became known. He bore it all so perfectly that he made them ashamed, doing good to those whom he knew to be doing evil to him. Though he had much to do he never failed to find time for prayer.

11. It seems to me that I am carried away when I praise this holy man—and I have not said much—but I have done so that people may know who it was that really began the foundation of the Most Holy Trinity in Soria, and for the consolation of those who have to dwell there. My labour is not thrown away, and they who are there now know it well. Though he did not endow us he gave us the church, and it was he, as I am saying,<sup>16</sup> who put it into the heart of that lady to make the

foundation, and he was, as I said before, a man of great piety, goodness, and penance.

12. Then when the passage leading into the church was made, and everything necessary for our enclosure arranged, it became necessary I should return to the monastery of S. Joseph in Avila; and so I went away at once in the great heat,<sup>17</sup> the road being very bad for the carriage. Ribera, a minor canon of Palencia, went with me; he had been a very great help in the making of the passage into the church, and in everything, for the father Nicholas of Jesus Maria had gone away as soon as the

<sup>17</sup> The Saint left Soria August 16, 1581, reached Burgo de Osma on the 18th, was in Segovia on the 23rd, and arrived in Avila September 5. The monastery which she had founded, and which she had carefully trained, was now, to the great distress of the Saint, less fervent in spirit, and therefore in great temporal need. The nuns had been too much indulged by an indiscreet confessor (Father Julian Davila) who dispensed with the observance of the rule and constitutions without difficulty. The presence of the Saint changed all that was amiss, and on the arrival of the provincial, to whom the state of the convent was made known—he came to Avila from Salamanca, where he had been occupied in founding the college of the friars—and with his consent, and desired by the nuns, Mary of Christ gladly resigned her place of prioress (*Vidas*, ii. 34). The nuns then elected S. Teresa prioress, September 10, 1581, but she withheld her consent on the ground of her age and need of rest. The provincial, Fray Jerome, bade her kiss the ground, whereupon the nuns intoned the *Te Deum*, and led her into her seat in the choir. The provincial, to make her burden as light as he could, gave her as subprioress Mary of S. Jerome (*Reforma* bk. v. ch. xxi. 3; *Fray Anton*). The monastery, which had elected her ‘through sheer hunger,’ as she says (Letter of 8th Nov. 1581), recovered itself temporally and spiritually, but not without much trouble to the Saint, for the nuns had been receiving dispensations without discretion from the confessor, who was none other than Julian of Avila, her great friend, but who in this instance seems not to have understood her spirit, or the ends she had in view in making this reform. She complains of him to the provincial in a letter written to him in the following October, and deplores the sad results of his negligent direction, and ends by saying, ‘God deliver me from confessors who have been so for many years’ (Letter of 26th Oct. 1581).

deeds relating to the foundation were drawn out, being very much wanted elsewhere. Ribera had business in Soria when we were going thither, and went with us. From that time forth God gave him such an earnest desire to do us good, that we may therefore pray to His Majesty for him among the benefactors of the order. I would not have anybody else travel with me and my companion, for he was enough, because he is so careful, and the more quietly we travel the better am I on the road.<sup>15</sup>

13. I paid now for the ease with which I had travelled on this road before, for, though the young man who went with us knew the way as far as Segovia, he did not know the high road, and so he led us into places where we had frequently to dismount, and took the carriage over deep precipices where it almost swung in the air. If we took persons with us to show the way, they led us as far as the roads were safe, and left us just before we came to a difficulty, saying that they had something to do elsewhere. Before reaching the inns, as we had no

<sup>15</sup> Diego de Yepes, her biographer, met her in Burgo de Osma on the 18th. He was then on his way to Rioja, his priorate in Zamora ended. He had heard from his friend the bishop, Don Alonso Velasquez, that the Saint was expected. She arrived about eight o'clock in the evening, and Yepes went to receive her on her alighting from the carriage. Yepes spoke to her, and she asked him who he was. He answered, 'Fray Diego de Yepes,' and the Saint made no reply. Fray Diego was uneasy, thinking that either the saint had forgotten him or that his presence was disagreeable to her. Afterwards speaking to her, he asked the reason of her silence, and she replied that it was owing to one of two things—one, that she thought he had been penanced by his superiors, or that God wished thus to repay her for the troubles of the foundation by meeting him there. Yepes was pleased, and said that the first was the truth, and that God did not intend the second. She then told him how long his penance would last, and that he would be ashamed of himself at the end thereof; 'thereby showing,' says Yepes, 'how well she knew my disinclination to suffer, seeing that I made so much of trifles' (*Yepes*, ii. 33).

certain knowledge of the country, we had to bear long the great heat of the sun, and our carriage was often in danger of being overturned. I was sorry for our fellow-traveller, because it was often necessary to retrace our steps, though we had been told that we were on the right road ; but in him goodness was so deeply rooted that I do not think I ever saw him annoyed, at which I marvelled much, and for which I gave thanks to our Lord ; for where goodness has taken root the occasions of sin have little influence. I give thanks to our Lord because He was pleased to save us from the dangers of this road.

14. On the eve of S. Bartholomew we reached S. Joseph's in Segovia, where our nuns were in distress because I was so late in coming ; and I was late because the roads were bad. There they made much of us, for God never sends me trouble but he repays me for it forthwith. I rested for eight days and longer ; the foundation, however, was made with so very little trouble that I think nothing of it, because it is nothing. I came away rejoicing, for the place seemed to me to be one where, I trust in the compassion of God, He will be served by those who dwell there, as He is at present.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The Saint made Catherine of Christ, whom she sent for from Medina, prioress, with Beatriz of Jesus sub-prioress. Catherine was born in Madrigal ; her father, of kin to the Saint, was Christobal de Balmaseda, and her mother was Doña Juana Bustamante y San Martin. She gave herself up from her earliest years to penance and good works, and went to Medina to become a Carmelite when the Saint was making the foundation there. She was refused at first because the house was full, but she persevered, and the Saint accepted her. When she was sent to Soria, Fray Jerome of the Mother of God remonstrated with the Saint, and said that Catherine was not the proper person to be prioress, because she could not write and had had no experience in governing, whereupon the Saint said to the provincial, ' Hold your peace, father : Catherine of Christ loves God much, is a very great saint, and requires nothing more to govern well.'

May He be praised and blessed for ever and for evermore ! Amen. *Deo gratias.*

IN THIS CHAPTER THE FOUNDATION OF THE GLORIOUS S. JOSEPH OF S. ANNE IN THE CITY OF BURGOS IS BEGUN. THE FIRST MASS IS SAID 19 APRIL 1582,<sup>1</sup> OCTAVE OF THE FEAST OF THE RESURRECTION

1. Don Alvaro de Mendoza.—2. Delivers the pallium to the archbishop of Burgos.—3. Our Lord warned the Saint of coming troubles.—4. The Saint encouraged supernaturally.—5. Delay about Burgos.—6. The archbishop delays.—7. Catalina de Tolosa.—8. Preparations made for Burgos.—9. Doña Catalina obtains the consent of the city of Burgos.—10. The Saint's hesitation.—11. Our Lord bids her go.—12. Other difficulties.—13. The provincial warns her of troubles.—14. The Saint sets out for Burgos.—15. Difficulties of the road.—16. From Palencia to Burgos.—17. Fray Jerome.—18. Arrival in Burgos.—19. The Saint ill.—20. The archbishop makes objections.—21. And refuses permission for mass to be said in the house.—22. Hardships borne by the nuns.—23. More difficulties.—24. The provincial discouraged.—25. Our Lord encourages the Saint.—26. The nuns lodged in the hospital.—27. Services of Catalina de Tolosa.—28. Her troubles.—29. The provincial leaves Burgos.—30. Difficulties in finding a house.—31. A house found.—32. Treaty for it.—33. It is bought.—34. The sale attacked.—35. Surprise of Burgos.—36. The archbishop still refuses his sanction.—37. More shifts of the archbishop.—38. Generosity of Catalina de Tolosa.—39. The saint applies for help to the bishop of Palencia.—40. The archbishop yields at last.—41. The monastery founded.—42. Blessedness of a cloistered life.—43. The Saint gives up the endowment.—44. Her confidence.—45. Reconciliation of the two bishops.—46. Transfer of the jurisdiction of the monastery in Avila.—47. Recommended by the bishop of Osma.—48. Consent of the bishop and of the nuns.

1. More than six years ago certain members of the Society of Jesus, men of great godliness, learning, and

<sup>1</sup> In 1582 Easter Day fell on 15th April, and the octave day was 22nd April ; xix. in the text may be an error for xxii.



spirituality, and long professed, said to me that it would be a great service rendered to our Lord if a house of this holy order were founded in Burgos. They gave me some reasons in favour of it which moved me to wish for it. The troubles of the order, and the other foundations, left me no opportunity of making it. When I was in Valladolid in the year 1580, the archbishop of Burgos<sup>2</sup>—the archbishopric had then been given him—came that way; he had before been bishop of the Canaries, and was then going to take possession. I have already spoken of the bishop of Palencia, Don Alvaro de Mendoza, who has greatly befriended the order; he was the first to accept the monastery of S. Joseph in Avila, where he was bishop, and ever since he has rendered us many a service, regarding the affairs of the order as his own, especially those which I commended to him. I begged him to ask the archbishop to allow us to make a foundation in Burgos, and he most readily promised to ask, for, as he thinks our Lord is greatly honoured in these houses, he rejoices much whenever a house is founded.

2. The archbishop would not enter Valladolid, but took up his lodging in the monastery of S. Jerome where the bishop of Palencia entertained him sumptuously, went to dine with him, and to give him a girdle, or do some ceremony or other which was to make him bishop.<sup>3</sup> He then asked permission for me to found the monastery. The archbishop said he would give it with pleasure; he

<sup>2</sup> Don Christóbal Vela, son of the viceroy of Peru, whose brother was S. Teresa's godfather. The family belonged to Avila and were befriended with S. Teresa's parents. Don Christobal was bishop of the Canaries from 1575 till 1579 when he was transferred to the metropolitan see of Burgos which he held till 1593. *Oeuvres*, iv. 175, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The bishop was commissioned to deliver the pallium to the archbishop.

had asked for one in the Canaries, and had longed to have there one of these monasteries, because he knew how much our Lord is served in them, for he came from a place where one had been built, and was well acquainted with me.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly the bishop told me not to wait for the licence, for the archbishop was very glad to have the monastery; and as the council<sup>5</sup> does not say that the licence is to be in writing, but only that the bishop's consent is to be had, the licence might be taken for granted.

3. I have spoken of the great unwillingness<sup>6</sup> I had to make any more foundations when I was to make one before in Palencia, for I had been very ill, so that it was thought I could not live, and even then I was not well. Illnesses, however, do not usually oppress me so much when I see that what I have to do is for the service of God, and so I do not know whence came such unwillingness as I felt then. It could not have come from my scanty means, for I had less when making other foundations. I believe it came from Satan, now that I see the results: and so it has usually been, for whenever I have any trouble in making a foundation our Lord, knowing my misery, always helps me by words and deeds. I have sometimes thought that in certain foundations, about which I had no trouble, His Majesty never warned me at all. It has been so in this, for, as He knew what I had to bear, He began to encourage me from the very first. All praise be unto Him!

<sup>4</sup> The archbishop was born in Avila (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. xxiv. 2).

<sup>5</sup> Concil. Trident. sess. xxv. ch. iii., *de Regularibus et Monialibus*; nec de cætero similia loca erigantur sine episcopi, in cujus diœcesi erigenda sunt, licentia prius obtenta.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. xxix. 3.

4. It was so here, as in the foundation of Palencia, already told—for the two foundations were arranged at the same time—He asked me, as it were reproaching me, What was I afraid of? Had He ever failed me? ‘I am the same: fail not to make these two foundations.’<sup>7</sup> As I said, when giving an account of the former foundation, what courage these words gave me, there is no reason why I should say it over again here. All sloth departed from me at once, and that makes me think that the cause of it was neither my illness nor my old age, and so I began at once to make arrangements for both foundations, as I said before. It was thought better to make the foundation of Palencia first, because it was nearer, and because the weather was so severe and Burgos so cold, and also because it would please the good bishop of Palencia: it was therefore done, as I said before.

5. But when I was staying in Palencia the foundation of Soria was offered, and I thought that, as everything was settled in Palencia, it would be best to go thither first, and thence to Burgos.<sup>8</sup> The bishop of Palencia thought it right, and I begged him to do so, to give the archbishop an account of what was going on; and so after I had gone to Soria he sent the canon Juan Alonso<sup>9</sup> to the archbishop on that business alone. The archbishop, in a letter to me, said with great affection that he desired my coming; made arrangements with the canon and

<sup>7</sup> See above, ch. xxix. 6.

<sup>8</sup> The patent authorising S. Teresa to make a foundation at Burgos was written by the Provincial, Father Jerome, 9th April 1581. She received it at Palencia before setting out for Soria. *Oeuvres*, iv. 178 note and 492.

<sup>9</sup> Probably canon Juan Alonso Salinas. His name appears in the deed of the foundation, dated 19th April 1582.

wrote to the bishop, putting himself in his hands ; that he was influenced by his knowledge of Burgos in what he did ; that I must come in with the consent of the town ; in short, the conclusion was that I was to go and treat in the first place with the city, and if it refused permission, his hands could not be tied, nor himself hindered, from giving it ; that he was present when the first monastery was founded in Avila, and remembered the great trouble and opposition I had to bear ; that he wished in this way to guard against the same thing here ; that it would not be right to found the monastery unless with an endowment, or with the consent of the city—a condition I did not like, and therefore he spoke of it.

6. When the archbishop said I was to go thither the bishop looked on the affair as settled, and with reason ; so he sent me word that we were to go. But to me there seemed a want of courage in the archbishop, and I wrote to thank him for his kindness to me, saying that it would be worse if the city refused its consent than if we made the foundation without saying anything about it, because it would be bringing more trouble on his Grace. I think I saw beforehand how little we could rely on him if any opposition were made to my obtaining the licence ; and, besides, I looked on it as a difficult matter on account of the contradictory opinions usual on such occasions.<sup>10</sup> I wrote to the bishop of Palencia entreating him that, as the summer was nearly over, and my infirmities such as to disable me from staying in so cold a climate, the matter might rest for the present. He was hurt because the archbishop made so many difficulties

<sup>10</sup> In a letter, written in Soria 13th July 1581, addressed to the canon Don Jerome Reinoso, the Saint speaks of her distrust of the archbishop.

after showing such good dispositions before, and so I said nothing of my suspicions, to avoid causing disagreements—for they are friends—and went from Soria to Avila, very far from thinking at the time that I should have to return so soon : my going to the house of S. Joseph in Avila was very necessary for many reasons.<sup>11</sup>

7. There dwelt in the city of Burgos a holy widow, Catalina de Tolosa, a Biscayan by birth, of whose goodness, penance, and prayer, great alms-giving and charity, good sense and courage I could speak at great length. She had placed two of her daughters as nuns in the monastery of our Lady of the Conception in Valladolid four years ago, I think—and two others in Palencia.<sup>12</sup> She waited till that house was founded, and brought them thither before I went away from that foundation.

8. The four nuns have turned out as the children of such a mother ; they are like angels. She gave them a good dowry and everything else most abundantly, for she herself is very wealthy ; in all her ways she is most generous and can be so, for she is rich. When she came to Palencia we considered the archbishop's consent so certain that we did not think there was any reason for delay, and so I asked her to find me a house we might hire in order to take possession, to set up the grating and the turn, and put it to my account, never thinking she would spend any money of her own, but only that she would lend it to me. So earnestly did she desire this foundation that she felt very much the

<sup>11</sup> See ch. xxx. 12, note.

<sup>12</sup> These were Catherine of the Assumption and Casilda of the Holy Angel in Valladolid, Mary of S. Joseph and Isabel of the Trinity in Palencia.



putting it off at that time, and so after my departure for Avila, as I have just said, having no thought whatever of making the foundation then, she gave herself no rest, but, thinking there was nothing more to be done except getting the permission of the city, began to solicit it without saying a word to me about it.

9. She had two neighbours, persons of importance, and very great servants of God, who desired the foundation greatly—a mother and her daughter. The mother, Doña Maria Manrique, had a son who was a magistrate, Don Alonso de Santo Domingo Manrique;<sup>13</sup> the

<sup>13</sup> Saint Teresa writes repeatedly Don Alonso, but Don Anselmo Salvá in his valuable article *Santa Teresa en Burgos (El Monte Carmelo, Burgos, 1906, p. 727 sqq.)* calls him with equal persistency Don Antonio Santo Domingo y Manrique, *procurador mayor*. On 4th November 1581 he petitioned the town council (*ayuntamiento*) to consent to the foundation of a convent projected by the celebrated Teresa de Jesús. The council commissioned him and the *regidor*, Don Hernán Ruiz de Castro to wait upon the archbishop. The latter evidently raised objections, for on the 7th Don Alonso presented to the council the following petition: 'Most illustrious sirs. I, Catalina de Tolosa, citizen of this town, in order to show your lordships that the convent of Discalced nuns which Teresa of Jesus intends to erect, shall be duly provided for, promise, for the glory of our Lord and the utility of the common weal of this town, to give them a house wherein to live, and to provide for their livelihood if there be any need for it. I submit therefore that in order to carry out so holy a work it will suffice for your lordships to grant your consent which I pray you to give for you will thereby render great service to our Lord and bestow a benefit on this republic, and to me you will show great favour, and your lordships will secure their continual prayers for the peace and welfare of the city.' After due deliberation the council passed the following resolution: 'Whereas the council have considered the said letter and petition and have heard the relation of the said gentlemen as to what is customary in similar cases, it is resolved that it will be for the public benefit of this town and the common welfare that the said convent be established and exist and remain in this town, their lordships giving their consent and agreeing that it be done as the petition says, and therefore they have given and hereby give their consent in due form.'

daughter was called Doña Catalina. Those two ladies discussed the matter with him that he might ask the consent of the council of the city. He spoke to Catalina de Tolosa, and asked her what he was to say about our means of subsistence, for the council would not consent if we had none. She replied that she would bind herself—and so she did—to give us a house if we wanted one, and maintain us, and thereupon presented a petition signed with her name. Don Alonso managed the matter so skilfully that he obtained leave from all the magistrates, went to the archbishop, and showed him the permission in writing. Immediately after she entered on the business she sent me word by letter that she was arranging it. I looked on it as something not serious, because I knew what difficulties people make about monasteries founded in poverty ; and as I did not know, and as it had never entered into my mind, that she had bound herself as she had done, I thought that much more was still to be done.

10. However, one day within the octave of Saint Martin, when I was commending the matter to our Lord, I considered what was to be done if the licence were granted ; for, as to my going myself to Burgos, that I looked on as impossible because I was so ill, the place being so cold, and cold being very bad for my illness ; it would be rash to undertake so long a journey when I had but just made so difficult a journey as was that from Soria already mentioned ; besides, the father provincial would not let me go.<sup>14</sup> I thought the prioress

<sup>14</sup> It appears from a letter dated Soria, 14th July 1581, that the provincial Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, had even laid his commands on the Saint in the matter, and that she was therefore not to travel in the winter to Burgos.

of Palencia<sup>15</sup> might do as well, for as everything was settled there would be nothing for her to do.

11. While I was thinking thus, and greatly bent on not going, our Lord spoke these words to me, which showed me that permission had been given :—‘ Do not mind the cold : I am the true warmth : Satan is exerting all his strength to hinder the foundation : do thou exert thine on My behalf that it may be made, and go thyself without fail, for the fruits of it will be great.’ Thereupon I changed my mind : though nature sometimes rebels when I have difficult things to do, my resolution to suffer for God, who is so great, never wavers, and so I ask Him not to regard those feelings of weakness, but to bid me do whatever is pleasing to Himself, for I shall not fail to do it by the help of His grace. The snow was then on the ground, but what most disheartened me was my wretched health, for had I been well I believe I should have thought nothing of the journey. It was my want of health that most frequently wearied me while making this foundation ; the cold was nothing—at least, I did not feel it—certainly not more, I think, than I did in Toledo. What our Lord said to me He amply fulfilled.

12. There was a delay of a few days in bringing me the licence, with letters from Catalina de Tolosa and her friend Doña Catalina pressing me to make haste ; they feared some disaster, for the order of Minims<sup>16</sup> had come to make a foundation there, and the Carmelites of the mitigation also had been there for some time labouring

<sup>15</sup> Agnes of Jesus (de Tapia).

<sup>16</sup> La Orden de los Vitorinos. In Spain the Minims of S. Francis de Paula are called ordinarily *frailes Vitorios*. She received the letters only on 29th November.

for a like end. Afterwards came the monks of S. Basil,<sup>17</sup> which might have been a hindrance : it was a matter of wonder that so many came at the same time with us, and a reason also for giving thanks to our Lord for the great charity of the place, seeing that the city gave its permission most willingly, though it was not now so prosperous as it had been. I had always heard people praise the charitableness of the city, but I never thought it was so great. Some helped one order, some another ; but the archbishop, thinking of all the difficulties that might arise, forbade it, for he considered that a new house would be a wrong done to the orders founded in poverty, in that they would not be able to maintain themselves ; and perhaps these had applied to him themselves, or it may be that the devil suggested it in order to do away with the good which God works wherever many monasteries are built, for He is able to maintain many as easily as few.

13. This was the reason why those saintly ladies pressed me so earnestly : if I had had my will I should have set out at once, but as it was I had matters to attend to, for I considered that I was more bound not to miss an opportunity myself than they were whom I saw taking so much pains. I understood by the words<sup>18</sup> I had heard that there was much opposition—from whom or whence it was to come I knew not, because Catalina de Tolosa had already written to me to say that she had the house in which she lived secured for the purpose of taking possession, that the city had consented, and the archbishop

<sup>17</sup> Perhaps of the reform of the venerable Mateo de la Fuente (see ch. xvii. 7, note), whom Gregory XIII had made subject to one general in 1579.

<sup>18</sup> See before, § 11.

also : I could not imagine from whom this opposition was to come which the devils were to raise, yet for all this I never doubted that the words I had heard were the words of God. In short, His Majesty gives to superiors greater light, for when I wrote to the father provincial about my going, because I knew I was to do so, he did not hinder me, but he asked me if I had the licence of the archbishop in writing. I answered that they had written to me from Burgos saying that they had arranged with him, that the consent of the city had been asked and obtained, and that the archbishop was satisfied with it : this, together with all he had said about the matter, seemed to leave no room for doubt.

14. The father provincial<sup>19</sup> would go with us to make the foundation, partly because he was then to be at leisure, for he had just finished preaching in Advent, and had to go to Soria to make a visitation—he had not seen that monastery since it was founded, and it was not much out of his road—and partly that he might look after my health on the journey, because the weather was so severe and I so old and sickly, and because my life was thought to be of some importance. It was certainly a providence of God, for the roads were in such a state—deep under water—that it was highly necessary for him and his companions to go on before to see where we could pass, and to help to drag the carriages out of the mud,

<sup>19</sup> The Saint went from Avila on Monday, 2nd January 1582, and arrived in Medina del Campo on Wednesday the 4th, staying there till Monday the 9th, when she started for Valladolid (Letter of 8th January 1582). She was detained for four days in Valladolid by illness, but reached Palencia on Monday the 16th, intending to leave on the Friday following if the weather should be favourable (Letter of 16th January). Fray Jerome, the provincial, came, it seems, from Salamanca, having two friars with him—one Fray Pedro of the Purification (*Vepe*, ii. 34 ; *Reforma*, bk. v. ch. xxv. 5) ; the other may have been a lay brother.



especially on the road from Palencia to Burgos. It was an act of great hardihood for us to set out from the former place when we did.

15. The truth is, our Lord had said to me that we might go on safely—not to be afraid—for He would be with us. This, however, I did not make known to the father provincial, but it was a comfort amidst the great difficulties and dangers of the road, especially in one spot near Burgos called the Floating Bridges : there the waters had risen so high, and for some time, that we could not see the road nor know where to go to : there was nothing but water, and on either side of us exceedingly deep. In short, it is an act of great rashness to travel that way, especially with carriages, which if they swerved but a little would be all lost, and accordingly we saw one of them in danger.

16. From a miserable inn on the road we took a guide who knew the passage ; it certainly was a very dangerous one. Then, the lodgings we found ! for it was impossible to make the usual day's journey because of the state of the roads ; the carriages continually sunk deep into the mire, and the mules had to be taken out of one carriage to drag out the other. The fathers who were with us had much to suffer, for we happened to have drivers who were young and very careless. It was a great relief that we were travelling with the father provincial, for he took care of everything, and is of so even a temper that all that happened seemed not to trouble him at all, and so he made light of that which was great, so that it seemed to be nothing—not so, however, at the Floating Bridges, for he was then not without fear, for when I saw ourselves go into a world of water without a way or a boat, notwithstanding the

encouragement of our Lord I was not without fear myself: what, then, must my companions have felt? We were eight on the road: two were to return with me, five to remain in Burgos—four choir and one lay sister.<sup>21</sup>

17. I do not think I have yet mentioned the name of the father provincial;<sup>22</sup> he is Fray Jerome Gratian of the Mother of God, of whom I have spoken in other places. I was myself suffering from a very severe sore throat, which I caught on the road to Valladolid, nor had the fever left me, and as the pain therefrom was great it hindered me from feeling much the incidents of the journey. I have that sore throat even now at the end of June,<sup>23</sup> and, though it is not nearly so sharp as it was, it is still very painful. The nuns were all happy, for once

<sup>20</sup> The nuns went to confession, and then, asking their mother to bless them, recited the *Credo*. The Saint, though not wholly without fear, looked cheerful, and insisted on going on first of all before the rest, charging them, if she were drowned, to return. She went on, and the rest followed in safety (*Ribera*, iii. 13). On entering the waters the Saint heard our Lord say to her, ‘Fear not, my daughter; I am here’ (*Yepes*, ii. 34).

<sup>21</sup> The Saint took Tomasina-Baptist niece of Teresa de Layz from Alba de Tormes; from Valladolid, Catherine of the Assumption, daughter of Doña Catalina de Tolosa, and Catherine of Jesus. From Palencia the Saint took Ines of the Cross, having left Avila with her constant companion the Venerable Anne of S. Bartholomew, with another lay sister, Mary of the Baptist, who was to remain in Burgos. She also took with her Teresa of Jesus, her own niece, who with Anne of S. Bartholomew was to return with her to Avila. Sister Tomasina was made prioress, and Catherine of Jesus, from Valladolid, sub-prioress (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. xxv. 4; and ch. xxvi, 5).

<sup>22</sup> The Saint had spoken of him before, and of his election (see ch. xxix. 24), but it is probable that her meaning is that she had not done so in this chapter and the one immediately preceding, which it is not unlikely were written some time after ch. xxix., which when she had ended she may have regarded as the last of her book. See the next note.

<sup>23</sup> It appears from this that the Saint wrote this chapter about three months before her death. On the 3rd of August the sore throat was gone, as she says in a letter to the prioress of Burgos.

the danger passed it was a pleasure to speak of it. It is a grand thing to suffer under obedience, especially for those who live under it so continually as these nuns do.

18. We reached Burgos by this dangerous road, through the deep waters there before the entrance of the city. Our father would have us go first of all to visit the Miraculous Crucifix,<sup>24</sup> to recommend to Him our business, and wait there till night came on, for it was still early. We arrived on Friday, 26th January, the day after the feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul. Our intention was to make the foundation at once, and I had with me many letters from the Canon Salinas<sup>25</sup>—he is spoken of in the history of the foundation of Palencia, where his labours in our behalf were not less than they were here—and from persons of consideration urging their relatives and others, their friends, most earnestly to befriend us in our work : they did so, for immediately, the next day, they came to see me, and in the city they were not sorry for the promise they had made, but were glad that I had come, and I was to consider wherein they could be of service to me. If we had any fears at all, they arose from our doubts about the city, now we found everything smooth ; and before any could know of our coming—for there was no going to the house of the good Catalina de Tolosa in that very heavy rain—we intended to inform the archbishop of it, that we might have the first mass said at once, as in almost all places ; but it was not done on account of the weather.

<sup>24</sup> 'El Santo Crucifijo.' The celebrated crucifix of Burgos in the church of the Augustinian friars outside the gates of the city, near the bridge of S. Mary. It is now in a chapel of the Cathedral,

<sup>25</sup> See above, ch. xxxi. 10.

19. We rested that night in great comfort furnished us by that saintly woman ; nevertheless it brought suffering to me, for there was a great fire made for us to dry ourselves at, which, though in a chimney, did me so much harm that I could not raise my head the next day ; I had therefore to lie down when speaking to those who came to see me through a window with a grating, over which we drew a curtain ;<sup>26</sup> and as it was a day in which I was obliged to settle many matters, it was very painful to me. Early in the morning the father provincial went to his Grace to ask his blessing, for we thought that was all we had to do. He found him changed, and angry at my coming without his leave, as if he had never sent for me or meddled at all in the matter ; and accordingly he spoke to the father provincial in great wrath against me. Then, admitting that he had sent for me, he said he meant I was to come alone to arrange the affair with him ; but to come with so many nuns, God deliver us from the annoyance it gave him ! To tell him that we had already arranged with the city, as he had asked us to do ; that there was nothing more to be done but to make the foundation ; and that the bishop of Palencia, when I asked him if I should do right in going [without informing his

<sup>26</sup> Don Pedro Manso, afterwards bishop of Calahorra, and mentioned by the Saint below, § 22, in his deposition in the process of the Saint's beatification (Fuente, *Obras*, vi. 182, 4), said that he visited her in the house of Doña Catherine, when ill in bed, unable to rise ; there was a window in her room opening into the corridor, which window had a grating, and a curtain behind it as in a monastery. He spoke to her, but saw her not, and adds that, going to see her in the conviction that she was a great Saint and friend of God, '*Conturbata sunt viscera mea, et inhorruerunt pili carnis meæ*, through fear and reverence ; and from that time forth I am fully persuaded that the Mother Teresa of Jesus must have been a great pillar of the Church of God.'

Grace<sup>27</sup>,] had told me it was not necessary to do so, because he wished the foundation to be made—was all to no purpose whatever. The matter stood thus, and God willed the foundation of the house, and the archbishop himself said so afterwards, for if we had plainly told him we were coming he would have forbidden us to come. Thereupon he dismissed the father provincial, telling him that unless we were endowed and had a house of our own he never would give his consent : we might as well return : the roads were so good and the weather so fine !

20. O my Lord, how true it is that he who shall render Thee a service is immediately rewarded by a great cross ! And what a priceless reward it is if they who truly love Thee only knew its value at the time ! But we did not then desire the reward, because it seemed to make the foundation altogether impossible, for the archbishop said besides, that the endowment and the house we were to buy were not to be taken out of any dowry the nuns might bring with them. Then, as we were not thinking of that in times like the present, it became clear enough that we were helpless : not so to me, however, for I always felt assured that all this was for the best—a plot of Satan to hinder the foundation—and that God would prosper His work. Herewith came away the provincial very joyous, for he was not troubled in the least at it : God so ordained it that he might not be vexed with me because I had not obtained the licence in writing, as he had told me to do.<sup>28</sup>

21. There were then with me some of the friends to

<sup>27</sup> These words though in Don Vicente's transcript, are not in the original MS. but were inserted in the first printed edition.

<sup>28</sup> See § 13.



whom the canon Salinas had written, as I said before ; and they resolved, his kinsmen agreeing with them, that the archbishop should be asked to give permission for the celebration of mass in the house, that we might not have to go out into the streets, which were very dirty : it was not seemly that we should go out, being barefooted. There was a suitable room in the house which had been the church of the Society of Jesus when they came to Burgos, and which they used for more than ten years ; we therefore saw nothing unseemly in taking possession there till we had a house of our own. We were never able to persuade him to let us hear mass therein, though two canons went to him to beg for leave. All that we got from him was, that an endowment being assured the foundation might be made there till we bought a house, and to obtain this we were to give security for the purchase of a house, and we were not to leave the place we were in.

22. The sureties we found at once, for the friends of the canon Salinas offered themselves, and Catalina de Tolosa offered an endowment. Meanwhile, in discussing how much it was to be, and in what way it was to be secured, more than three weeks must have gone by, and we not hearing mass except on holy days very early in the morning, myself in a fever and very ill. Catalina de Tolosa, however, was so kind to us, and took such care of me, and fed us the whole of that month as cheerfully as if she had been the mother of every one of us, in a part of the house where we lived by ourselves. The father provincial and his companions were lodged in the house of a friend of his—they had been at college together <sup>29</sup>—

<sup>29</sup> In the university of Alcalá de Henares (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. xxvi. 7.)

the doctor Manso,<sup>30</sup> canon-preacher in the cathedral ; he was excessively harassed by his detention there so long, and yet could not see his way to leave us.

23. When the sureties had been found and the endowment settled, the archbishop told us to give the papers to the vicar-general, and then everything would be settled immediately. Satan—it must have been so—did not fail to run to him also, for after a long consideration of the matter, when we were thinking that there could be no grounds for further delay, and when a month had been spent in persuading the archbishop to be pleased with what we were doing, the vicar-general sent me a note in which he said that the licence would not be granted till we had a house of our own ; that the archbishop now did not like us to make the foundation in the house we were staying in, because it was damp and in a street that was very noisy ; and then, as for the security of the endowment, I know not what difficulties and objections he made, as if the matter were then discussed for the first time ; that there must be no further debate, and the archbishop must be pleased with the house.

24. When the father provincial heard of it he was greatly moved—so were we all—for plainly much time is necessary for buying a place for a monastery ; it

<sup>30</sup> The Saint had a great respect for the canon Manso, chose him for her confessor, and even gave him her books to read, and told him that he would be a bishop (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. xxv. 7). His nephew Don Pedro Manso, president of the royal council and patriarch of the Indies, in his deposition taken in the process of the Saint's beatification (*Fuente Obras*, vi. 189, 7,) where it is more accurately given than in the chronicle, says that his uncle Dr Manso—afterwards the bishop of Calahorra—heard the confession of the Saint, and always on his return home would say, 'Blessed be God, blessed be God ! but I would rather dispute with all the theologians in the world than with this woman.'

distressed him to see us go out of the house for mass, for, though the church was not far off, and we heard it in a chapel therein unseen of all, yet for the father provincial and ourselves it was a very great burden. Then it was, I think, he made up his mind that we must go away. I could not bear to do that: when I remembered what our Lord had said to me,<sup>31</sup> that I was to make this foundation for Him, I was so confident it would be made that scarcely anything vexed me; but I was in distress about the father provincial, and was very sorry he had come with us, not knowing at the time how much his friends were to do for us, as I shall tell by and by.

25. When I was in this distress, which pressed heavily on my companions also, though I did not concern myself about them, but only about the provincial, our Lord—I was not in prayer—said to me these words,<sup>32</sup> ‘Now, Teresa, be strong.’ Thereupon with great earnestness, I begged the father provincial to go away and leave us. And His Majesty must have brought him to this, for Lent was nigh at hand, and he was obliged to go and preach.<sup>33</sup>

26. He and his friends contrived to have rooms assigned us in the hospital of the Conception;<sup>34</sup> the Most Holy Sacrament was there, and mass was said every day. This gave him some pleasure, but he had not a little to go through in getting it for us, for the one good room

<sup>31</sup> See above, § 11.

<sup>32</sup> Similar words in *Relation*, ix. 4.

<sup>33</sup> He had to preach in Valladolid during Lent (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. xxvii. 1. See below, § 29).

<sup>34</sup> Founded by Don Diego de Bernuy and handed over to the Confraternity of the Conception, 1st July 1562. It is situated in the suburb of Vega. Part of it remains exactly as S. Teresa knew it. *Oeuvres*, iv. 199, note 1.

there had been taken by a widow in the town, who not only would not lend it to us, though she was not going into it for the next half-year, but was angry because they had given us certain rooms in the upper part of the hospital under the roof, one of them forming a passage into her room. She was not satisfied with locking it on the outside, but must have bars put across it on the inside. Besides, the brethren thought we were to make the hospital our own—an impracticable imagination, but God would have us merit more thereby ; they made us promise, the father provincial and myself, before a notary, that we would, on being told to quit the place, do so at once. This was the hardest thing for me, for I was afraid the widow, who was wealthy and had relatives there, would, whenever she took a fancy to do so, compel us to go away. The father provincial, however, was wiser than I, and would have everything done according to their wishes, that we might go in at once ; they gave us but two rooms and a kitchen. But a great servant of God, Hernando de Matanza, was in charge of the hospital, and gave us two others for a parlour, and was very kind to us, as he is indeed to everybody, and does much for the poor. Franciso de Cuevas also was kind to us ; he has much to do with the hospital, and is postmaster here ; he was always kind to us when he had the opportunity.

27. I have given the names of those who were our benefactors in the beginning, that the nuns now there, and those who shall come after them, may, as is fitting, remember them in their prayers ; they are the more bound to do so for founders, and, though at first I did not intend, neither did it enter into my mind,<sup>35</sup> that

<sup>35</sup> See above, § 8.

Catalina de Tolosa should be the founder of the house, her good life obtained it for her from our Lord, who so ordered matters that it became impossible to withhold this honour from her ; for, to say nothing of the purchase of the house by her when we had not the means of doing so ourselves, it never can be told what the shiftings of the archbishop cost her, for it was a very great distress to her to think that the house might not be founded, and she was never weary of doing us good. The hospital was very far from her house, and yet she came to see us most readily nearly every day, and sent us all we had need of ; then people never ceased from talking to her, and if she had not been the courageous woman she is that talking might have put an end to everything.<sup>36</sup>

28. It was a great sorrow to me to see her suffering for, though she for the most part kept it secret, yet there were times when she could not hide it, especially when they appealed to her conscience, which was so tender that, even amid the great provocations she received, I never heard a word from her by which God might be offended.<sup>37</sup> They used to say to her that she was going

<sup>36</sup> Doña Catalina had promised to leave her property after her death to certain fathers who had the direction of her conscience, and these now filled her soul with scruples in relation to what she was doing for S. Teresa ; and thus between her confessors and the Saint her life was very wretched.

<sup>37</sup> God rewarded Catalina de Tolosa even in this life, for two sons and five daughters were called to the Order, and finally, after having offered up to Him seven children, she, like the mother of the Macchabees, made a sacrifice of herself. Catherine of the Assumption, the eldest daughter, professed at Valladolid, 22nd August 1579, became foundress and five times prioress of the convent of Rioseco where she died, 20th September 1616. Casilda of S. Angelus had accompanied her sister to Valladolid and took her vows on the same day as the former. She eventually was elected prioress there, and died 2nd October 1632. Mary of S. Joseph took the habit at Palencia, made



to hell, and ask her how she could do what she was doing when she had children of her own. All she did was with the sanction of learned men : if she had wished to act otherwise, I would not have consented for anything on earth to her doing what she might not do, if a thousand monasteries had been lost thereby : much more, then, would I not have consented for one. But, as the plan we were discussing was kept secret, I am not surprised that people thought the more about it. She

her profession 22nd April 1582, and died at Tarazona, 21st July 1613. Isabel of the Blessed Trinity took the habit and was professed together with her sister. She never left Palencia until her death which occurred 8th October 1633. The book of profession contains the following notice in the handwriting, and with the signature of father Jerome Gratian : 'On the 22nd of April 1582 (was professed) Sister Mary of S. Joseph who in the world was called Maria de Muncharaz, legitimate daughter of Sebastian de Muncharaz and Catalina de Tolosa, citizens of Burgos ; she gave 800 ducats in alms to this convent of S. Joseph, and renounced her share in both her paternal and maternal inheritance in favour of the convent of Discalced nuns at Burgos if ever it be founded, and if not, or if that convent had 500 ducats per annum independently of her inheritance, in favour of this convent of Palencia.' The same notice occurs immediately after with respect to her sister, Isabel of the Blessed Trinity. From this it will be seen that Catalina de Tolosa must have been very rich. The fifth daughter to take the habit was Elenita (Helena of Jesus) who received it from the archbishop himself in presence of S. Teresa, but did not make profession until 25th June 1586. The elder son of Doña Catalina, Sebastian of Jesus, entered the Order at Pastrana in 1585. He distinguished himself as lecturer, preacher and administrator, rising from one dignity to another, inclusive of those of provincial and definitor general which he held at the time of his death. The second son, Lesmes, afterwards John Chrysostom, was only thirteen when he took the habit, in 1587 ; he became a celebrated professor at Salamanca, and died at Palencia. Another child, Beatriz, having died in infancy, Doña Catalina joined her two daughters at Palencia in 1587, being then forty years old. She gave unmistakable proof of humility and obedience when her own daughter was prioress and her son provincial ; she also showed her wisdom and experience during three years she held the office of prioress. She died at Palencia 13th July 1608.

answered every one with so much prudence—and she is very prudent—and bore it so gently that it was plain that God was teaching her how to be able to please some and endure others, and giving her courage to bear it all. How much greater is the courage of the servants of God when they have great things to do than is that of people of high descent if they are not His servants! She, however, was without flaw in her blood, for she is the child of a very noble house.

29. I now go back to what I was saying : when the father provincial found us a place where we could hear mass and live enclosed he ventured to go to Valladolid, where he had to preach, but in great distress at not seeing in the archbishop any sign from which to hope that he would give his permission ; and, though I always spoke hopefully, he could not believe, and certainly he had grave reasons for thinking as he did, which need not be told, and, if he had little hope, his friends had less, and they discouraged him greatly. I was more at ease when I saw him gone, for, as I said before, the greatest trouble I had was his. He left instructions that we were to find a house, in order that we might have one of our own ; and that was very difficult, for up to that time we had not found one for sale. We were now a greater burden to our friends, especially those of the father provincial, and all of them agreed not to speak a word to the archbishop till we found a house ; he always said that he wished the foundation to be made more than any one ; and I believe it, for he is so good a Christian that he would not say that which is not true. In his conduct this did not appear, for he asked for things which evidently were beyond our power to do : it was a device of Satan to hinder the foundation. But, O Lord, how plain it is that Thou art

mighty ! the very means which Satan sought for the purpose of hindering it Thou didst employ to make it better. Blessed be Thou for ever !

30. From the eve of S. Mathias, when we came to the hospital, until the eve of S. Joseph, we were busy in looking at this house and at that ; they had all of them so many disadvantages, and not one among those which their owners were willing to sell was such as we ought to buy. They told me of one belonging to a nobleman which had been for sale for some time, and, though there were so many orders looking for a house, it pleased God that none of them liked this, and they are all astonished at it now, and some even are very sorry. One or two people had spoken to me about it, but they who spoke ill of it were so many that I had by this time ceased to think of it, as if it were a house that would not suit us.

31. One day, when the licentiate Aguiar,<sup>38</sup> one of the friends of our father, already mentioned, who had been making a careful search everywhere for a house, was telling me that he had seen some, and that no house fitting for us could be found in the whole city, and when I thought it impossible to find any, judging by what people were saying to me, I remembered the one which I have just spoken of as having been given up, and thought that, though it were as bad as it was said to be, it might be a refuge for us in our necessity, and that we might sell it later. I said to the licentiate Aguiar that he would do me a kind-

<sup>38</sup> He had been a fellow student of father Gratian at Alcalá, and was now a physician in Burgos, and a great friend of the Saint : he told her that if the house could not be paid for by the community at once he would pay the money himself, and keep the house should they not be satisfied with it (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. xxvi. 2).

ness if he would go and look at it. He thought it not a bad plan ; he had never seen the house, and he would go at once, though it was a stormy and wretched day. There was a person living in it who had no wish to see it sold and would not show it to him, but the situation itself, and as much of the house as he could see, pleased him greatly, and so we made up our minds to treat for the purchase of it.<sup>39</sup>

32. The nobleman to whom the house belonged was away, but he had given to an ecclesiastic,<sup>40</sup> a servant of God, to whom His Majesty gave the desire of selling it to us, and to treat with us with great openness, authority to sell it. It was settled that I should go and see it. I was so extremely pleased with it that I should have considered it cheap if they had asked twice as much for it, as we had understood they did ; and that is not saying much, for two years before that sum had been offered to the owner, but he would not sell it then. Immediately, the next day, the ecclesiastic came here, and the licentiate also, who when he saw that the other was satisfied wished to have the matter settled at once. I had spoken to some of our friends, and they had told me that if I gave what was asked I should be giving five hundred ducats more than it was worth. I told him of this, but he thought the house cheap even if I gave for it the sum

<sup>39</sup> The house belonged then to Don Manuel Francis and his wife Doña Angela Mansino, and was called Casa de Mansino. A former proprietor, noted for his evil life, had died in it without the sacraments and the house had the reputation of being haunted, and was therefore shunned. Even after the nuns moved into it strange noises were often heard which only ceased when the Blessed Sacrament was reserved (*Oeuvres*, iv. 205, note 1).

<sup>40</sup> Don Diego Ruiz de Ayala who held a chaplaincy at the Cathedral, with him was Don Martin Perez de Rozas, also a chaplain. (*Oeuvres*, l. c).

that was asked : I thought so also myself, and that I ought not to delay, for it seemed as if about to be sold for nothing, but as the money belonged to the order it gave me a scruple.

33. This meeting took place before mass on the eve of the glorious S. Joseph ;<sup>41</sup> I told them we should meet again after mass and settle the matter. The licentiate is a most prudent man, and he saw clearly that, as soon as the matter began to be bruited abroad, either we should not be the purchasers of the house or it would cost us a much larger sum : so he made the ecclesiastic give a promise to return after mass. We nuns went and commended the affair to God, who said to me, ‘Dost thou hold back for money?’ giving me to understand that the house was fitted for us. The sisters had prayed much to S. Joseph that they might have a house for his feast, and, though they did not think they could have one so soon, their prayer was heard : all urged me to settle it, and so it was done, for the licentiate came in with a notary, met with at the door—which seemed a providence of our Lord—and said to me that it was necessary to settle, and, having brought in a witness, and shut the door of the room that nobody might know—for he was afraid of that—the

<sup>41</sup> In point of fact the deed shows that the purchase took place on the 12th, and its ratification on the 16th ; in a letter to father Mariano, dated 18th March 1582, the Saint tells him that the house has been bought. Perhaps the deed was delivered on the 18th. It will be found in *Oeuvres*, iv. 512. On the 16th Saint Teresa had already given power to Father Peter of the Purification to take possession of the house which he did without delay as appears from a document signed by him on the same day (*Oeuvres*, l. c. 516, 518). The conditions of the purchase were unusually onerous, inasmuch as one half of the sum agreed to had to be paid within four months and the second half after another four months, instead of a whole year being allowed for finding the money.



sale was made, and could not be set aside,<sup>42</sup> on the eve, as I said before, of the glorious S. Joseph, through the kind service and skilfulness of this good friend.

34. Nobody thought it would be sold so cheaply, and accordingly when the news began to be spread abroad purchasers began to come forward, and to say that the ecclesiastic who had made the bargain had sold it at too low a price—that the sale must be set aside, for it was a great fraud. The good ecclesiastic had much to go through. Word was sent at once to the owners of the house, who were, as I said before, one of the chief nobles in the place and his wife ; but they were so glad that their house was to be a monastery that they ratified the sale on that ground, though by that time they could not do otherwise. Immediately, the next day, the deeds were drawn up, and one-third of the money was paid on the demand of the ecclesiastic, for in some things relating to the bargain they were hard on us, and we bore everything to keep to it.

35. It seems foolish for me to be speaking at such great length of the purchase of this house, but the truth is that those who looked into the matter carefully saw in it nothing less than a miracle, whether it be the price, which was so small, or the blindness of all the religious who had seen it, and which hindered them from taking it : those who looked at the house were amazed, as if it had not always been in Burgos, and found fault with them and called them foolish. There were persons there searching for a house for a monastery of nuns, and two monasteries besides, one of which had been lately founded

<sup>42</sup> The house was sold to the saint for thirteen hundred ducats, and Doña Catalina de Tolosa paid one-third of the money at once (*Reforma*, bk. v. ch. xxvi. 2).

—the other had come to the town from outside because its house had been burnt down—and another wealthy person intending to found a monastery, who had lately seen it and given it up : these were all extremely sorry. The talking in the town was such as made us see clearly the grave reasons the licentiate had for the secrecy and the haste in which he settled the affair, and we can truly say that, under God, he gave us the house. A sound judgment is of great service in everything, and, as his judgment is very sound, and as God had given him the will, so he brought our affair to an end. He was for more than a month helping us and arranging the house so as to make it suit us, and at little cost. It seemed clear that our Lord had been keeping the house for Himself, for almost everything seemed to have been done for our use. The truth is, as soon as I saw it, with everything therein as if prepared for us, it seemed to me a dream—everything was done so quickly. Our Lord repaid us well for what we had gone through when He brought us into a paradise—for the garden, the view, and the water seemed nothing else. May He be blessed for ever ! Amen.

36. The archbishop heard of it at once, and was very glad we had prospered so well : he thought it was due to his obstinacy, and he was right. I wrote to him to say I rejoiced because he was satisfied, and that I would make haste in arranging the house, that he might be altogether gracious unto me. Having said this to him, I hastened into it myself, for I was warned that they wished to detain us in the hospital till certain deeds were completed. And so, though a man who lived in the house had not gone out—it cost us also something to get rid of him—we went into a room in it. I was told immediately that the archbishop was angry thereat ; I did all I could to soothe

him, and as he is a good man, even when he is angry, his anger passes quickly away. He was angry also when he heard that we had a grating and a turn, for it made him think that I wished to act as if free from his authority : I wrote to him, and said that I had no such wish, only that we had done what is done in the house of persons who live in retirement—that I had not dared to put up even a cross, lest he should think so ; and that was the truth. Notwithstanding all the goodwill he professed, we found no way to make him willing to grant the licence.

37. He came to see the house. It pleased him much, and he was very gracious to us, but not gracious enough to give the licence ; however, he gave us more hope, and said that some agreement was to be made with Catalina de Tolosa. There were great fears that he would not sanction it, but Doctor Manso, the other friend of the father provincial, of whom I have spoken, was very much with him, watching opportunities to remind him of us and to importune him ; for it pained him much to see us living as we were doing, because in the house itself, though it had a chapel which had never been used for anything but for mass when the former owners lived in it, he would never allow us to have mass said, but we must go out on festival days and Sundays to hear it in a church, which we were very fortunate in having close by ; though after we had gone to our house, until the foundation was made a month went by, more or less. All learned men told us that there were good grounds for allowing mass to be said.<sup>43</sup> The archbishop is learned enough,

<sup>43</sup> The obstinacy of the archbishop was the more galling to the Saint because there was a chapel in the house in which mass had been said for fourteen years while it was in the possession of the Jesuits (Letter of 18th March 1582). The Saint and her sisters heard mass in the parish church of S. Luke, afterwards the church of the Augustinian nuns.

and he saw it in the same light, and thus there seems to be no other reason to give than this—that it was the good pleasure of our Lord we should suffer. I bore it best of all myself, but one of the nuns on finding herself in the street trembled through the pain it gave her.

38. We had not a little to suffer in drawing up the deeds, for at one time they were satisfied with sureties, at another they would have the money paid. Many other difficulties were raised. In this the archbishop was not so much to blame : it was a vicar-general who fought hard against us, and if God had not opportunely sent him on a journey, so that the business devolved on another it seemed as if the matter would never be brought to an end. Oh, the distress of Catalina de Tolosa ! that never can be told. She bore it all with a patience that amazed me, and was never weary in making provision for us. All the furniture we required for fitting up the house she gave us—beds and many things besides ; her own house was amply provided, and, as to anything we might need, it seemed as if we were not to be in want of anything, though her own house might be so. Among those who were founders of our monasteries there are some who gave more of their substance, but there is not one who had the tenth part of the trouble it cost her ; and she, if she had not had children, would have given everything she had. She longed so earnestly to see the monastery founded that what she did for that end seemed to her as nothing.

39. When I saw so much delaying I wrote to the bishop of Palencia, entreating him to write again to the archbishop ; he was very much displeased with him, for whatever the latter did for us the bishop regarded as done to himself ; and what amazed us was, that the

archbishop never thought he was doing us the slightest wrong. I entreated the bishop to write to him and ask him to give his consent, now that we had a house of our own, and everything done as he had desired. The bishop sent me a letter for him—it was open—but of such a nature that had we sent it on we should have ruined everything; and accordingly doctor Manso, my confessor and adviser, would not let me send the letter, for, though it was most courteous, it contained some truths which, considering the temper of the archbishop, were enough to make him angry—he was so already on account of certain messages the bishop had sent him; they were very great friends—and he said to me that, as they who were enemies before were made friends at the death of our Lord, so on my account two friends had become enemies: I replied, that he might see by that what sort of a person I was.

40. I had taken especial care as I thought, to keep them from being angry with one another; I renewed my entreaties to the bishop, using the best reasons I could, that he would write another and a very affectionate letter, representing to him what a service to God it would be. He did what I asked him to do, and it was not little: when he saw that his doing so would be a service rendered to God and a kindness to me—he has been always so uniformly kind to me—he did violence to himself, and, writing to me, said that all he had hitherto done for the order was nothing in comparison with that letter. In a word, it answered the purpose in such a way—doctor Manso was pressing at the same time<sup>44</sup>—

<sup>44</sup> The authorisation is dated 18th April, and the first Mass was said on the next morning. In a letter of 13th April the Saint thanks the bishop of Palencia for his intervention.



that the archbishop granted the licence, and sent the good Hernando Matanza with it, whose pleasure in bringing it was not a little. That day the sisters were very much disheartened—they had never been so before—and the good Catalina de Tolosa so much so that she could not be comforted : it seemed as if our Lord would lay His hand more heavily upon us at the moment He was about to give us joy ; and I, who had not been without hope hitherto, had none the night before. Blessed and praised be His name for ever, world without end ! Amen.

41. Doctor Manso had leave from the archbishop to say mass the next day, and to reserve the Most Holy Sacrament. He said the first mass, and the high mass was sung by the father prior of S. Paul's of the order of S. Dominic,<sup>45</sup> to which, as well as the members of the society, our order has always been greatly indebted. The father prior sang the mass with very solemn music played by men who came unasked. All our friends were much pleased, and so was nearly everybody in the city, for they were all very sorry to see us in the state we were in, and thought so ill of the conduct of the archbishop that I was at times more distressed by what I heard people say of him than I was at what I had to bear myself. The joy of the good Catalina de Tolosa and of the sisters was so great that it kindled my devotion, and I said unto God, ' O Lord, what other aim have these

<sup>45</sup> Fray Juan de Arcediano, prior of the Dominican convent of San Pablo. In 1610, being then prior of Santo Tomaso at Avila he gave evidence in the process of beatification, mentioning the fact of his having said the first mass at the Carmelite convent, at which the archbishop assisted, and having reserved the Blessed Sacrament. He also speaks of his acquaintance with the Saint during her sojourn in Burgos. *Oeuvres*, iv. 217, note.

thy servants but that of serving Thee, and dwelling within a cloister, for Thy sake, out of which they are never to go forth.'

42. Nobody who does not know it by experience will believe the joy we have in these monasteries when we find ourselves within the cloister into which no secular persons may enter; for, however much we may love them, that love is not strong enough to take from us the great joy of living alone. If a number of fish be taken out of the river in a net they cannot live, unless they are returned to the river. So, it seems to me, is it with souls accustomed to live in the torrents of the waters of their Bridegroom: if they be drawn out therefrom by the nets of the things of this world they do not really live till they are taken back again. I always see this in the sisters. I know it by experience: those nuns who are conscious of a wish to go abroad among seculars, or to converse much with them, have reason to be afraid that they have never touched that living water of which our Lord spoke to the Samaritan woman,<sup>46</sup> and that the Bridegroom has hidden Himself from them, seeing that they are not content to dwell alone with Him. I am afraid that this comes from two sources: either they have not undertaken the religious state for Him alone, or they do not understand after undertaking it what a great grace God gave them when He chose them for Himself, and rescued them from being subject to man, who very often kills their body—and God grant he may not also kill their soul! O my Bridegroom, very God and very man! is this a grace to be lightly regarded? Let us praise Him, my sisters, because He hath given it unto us; and let us

<sup>46</sup> S. John iv. 7. See *Life*, ch. xxx. 24; and *Way of Perfection*, ch. xix. 4. *Interior Castle* M. vi., ch. xi., 5. *Excl.* ix. 1.

never be weary of praising our Lord and King, who is so mighty, and who has prepared a kingdom for us, of which there shall be no end, in return for a little hardship amid a thousand joys, but which will end to-morrow. May He be blessed for ever ! Amen, amen.<sup>47</sup>

43. Some time after the house was founded, it was thought by the father provincial and myself that the endowment furnished by Catalina de Tolosa had certain inconveniences which might end in a lawsuit for us, and in some trouble for herself : we preferred trusting more in God, that we might not be the cause of giving her the slightest annoyance : so, to save her, and for some other reasons, we all before a notary renounced the property she had given us, with the sanction of the father provincial, and sent her all the deeds. It was done very secretly lest it should come to the knowledge of the archbishop, who would consider it a wrong done to himself, though it was really done to the monastery, for when it is once known of a house that it is founded in poverty there is nothing to be afraid of, because everybody helps it, but when the house is known to be endowed there is evidently a risk, and it may have to remain for a time without the means of supplying itself with food. Provision for us after the death of Catalina de Tolosa was made. Two of her daughters, who were to make their profession this year in our monastery of Palencia,<sup>48</sup> had renounced their property in her favour should they profess—this renunciation she made them annul, and make another in favour of this house : another daughter, who wished to take the habit here, gave her share in her

<sup>47</sup> The Saint omits here to speak of the inundation of Burgos on 24th May, which placed the convent and its inmates in imminent danger.

<sup>48</sup> See Letter of 10th March 1582.

father's property and in her mother's, which is as much as the endowment was worth : the only inconvenience is that the house is not yet in possession of it.

44. But I have always held that the nuns will never be in want, because our Lord, who sends succour to monasteries dependent on alms, will raise up people to do as much for this house, or will find means to maintain it. Though no house has been founded as this was I have begged our Lord from time to time, as it was His will the foundation should be made, to come to its relief, and supply what is necessary for it ; nor did I wish to go away till I saw if any came into it as nuns. One day, thinking of this after communion, I heard our Lord say ' Why doubt ? This is now done ; thou mayest safely go '—giving me to understand that the nuns would never be in want of that which might be necessary for them. I felt as if I were leaving them amply endowed, and have never been anxious about them since. I began at once to make arrangements for my departure, for I seemed as if I were doing nothing more in the house but taking my pleasure in it, for it is a house I like exceedingly, while elsewhere, though I might have more trouble, I might be of more use.

45. The archbishop and the bishop of Palencia remained very good friends, for the archbishop at once showed himself very gracious unto us, and gave the habit to a daughter<sup>49</sup> of Catalina de Tolosa, and to another nun<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Helena of Jesus, the youngest of the daughters, who were all Carmelite nuns. The Saint calls her ' my Gordilla (plump) ' in a letter to the prioress, written in Palencia 9th August.

<sup>50</sup> Doña Beatriz del Arceo y Covarrubias, widow of Don Hernando Venero, a gentleman at the court of Philip II. She made her profession 24th May 1583, and was afterwards mistress of novices and prioress of Vitoria. Her name in religion was Beatriz of Jesus.

who soon came in : and until now people have never failed to provide for us, nor will our Lord leave His brides to suffer if they serve Him according to the obligations under which they lie. To this end may His Majesty give them His grace out of His great compassion and goodness ! <sup>51</sup>

## I. H. S.

46. I have thought it right to put down in this place how it was that the nuns of S. Joseph's, Avila—the first monastery that was founded—the history of which foundation is written elsewhere,<sup>52</sup> and not in this book, came under the jurisdiction of the order ; the house from the first being subject to the bishop.

47. When that monastery was founded the bishop was Don Alvaro de Mendoza, now the bishop of Palencia ; and all the time he was in Avila he was most gracious unto the nuns. When the monastery was placed under his jurisdiction I understood from our Lord that it was advantageous so to place it, and the result fully proved it ; for in all the difficulties of the order we had great help from him, and on many other occasions we saw it plainly enough. He never entrusted the visitation of the monastery to a secular priest, nor did he issue any orders except those which I begged of him to give. Seventeen years, more or less, to the best of my recollection,<sup>53</sup> passed

<sup>51</sup> Here ends the Book of the Foundations—then a blank leaf ; after which the passage following.

<sup>52</sup> In the *Life*, see chs. xxxii-xxxvi.

<sup>53</sup> The Saint more than once calls attention to the fact that her memory was not good. In this instance she is probably in error, for the monastery of S. Joseph was founded in August 1562, and the transfer of the jurisdiction from the bishop to the order was made in August 1577. The Saint therefore made a mistake of two years. The change was made after the Saint had fallen into disgrace with the general of



by in this way, nor did I ever think of changing the jurisdiction. At the end of the seventeen years the bishopric of Palencia was given to the bishop of Avila. I was at the time in the monastery of Toledo, and our Lord said to me it was expedient for the nuns of S. Joseph's to be under the jurisdiction of the order—that I was to bring it about, for if it were not done the house would soon become lax. As I had understood it was right for us to be under the authority of the bishop,<sup>54</sup> I thought the locutions were at variance one with another. I said so to my confessor—it was he who is now the bishop of Osma<sup>55</sup>—a most learned man. He replied that it was not so in the present case, for what I did formerly must have been necessary then, and that something else is necessary now. It is now most clear in many ways that what he said was true, and that he saw it would be better for the monastery to be united with the others than to stand alone. He made me go to Avila to arrange the matter.

48. I found the bishop was of a very different mind, and would not at all consent to the change ; but when I told him some of the reasons I had for thinking that harm might come to the nuns, he set himself to think them over, for he had a great affection for the nuns, and as he has a most sound understanding, and as God helped him, his thoughts led him to other reasons more

the order, and during the severe persecution she underwent from the friars of the mitigation, who, though they saw the Saint deprive herself of a house of refuge—for they could not have touched her in her own house of S. Joseph in Avila—waged war against her to the end and nearly destroyed the reform.

<sup>54</sup> See *Life*, ch. xxxiii. 18.

<sup>55</sup> Don Alonso Velasquez, afterwards archbishop of Compostella (see ch. xxx. 1, note).

weighty than those I had given him, and he resolved to make the change : <sup>56</sup> though some of the clergy went and told him it was not expedient, they did not prevail. It was necessary to have the consent of the nuns : to some the change was very disagreeable, but, as they loved me much, they yielded to the reasons I gave them, especially this—that when the bishop, to whom the order owed so much and whom I loved, was gone, they could not have me any longer among them. This consideration had great influence with them, and so this affair, of so much importance, was settled. Since then all persons see in what a sad state the monastery would have been if the change had not been made. Oh, blessed be our Lord who regards with so much solicitude all that concerns His servants ! May He be blessed for ever ! Amen.

<sup>56</sup> The bishop consented to the transfer of the jurisdiction on the condition that he was to continue the patron of the chancel of the church, and that he was to be buried there wherever he might be when he died (*Reforma*, bk. iv. ch. xvi. 3). See a document concerning the change in *El Monte Carmelo*, Burgos, 1910, p. 728.

## THE FOUNDATION OF S. JOSEPH'S CONVENT AT GRANADA

By the VEN. MOTHER ANNE OF JESUS

Of the seventeen foundations attributed to S. Teresa two were not made by her personally. Unable to absent herself from Seville she sent Mother Anne of S. Albert to make the foundation at Caravaca, having herself made all the preliminary arrangements. Towards the end of her life she was requested to found a convent at Granada but as at the same time that of Burgos was projected she chose the latter, being the more difficult, for herself, and nominated Anne of Jesus for the former. This remarkable nun was born at Medina del Campo, 25th November 1545, her father being Don Diego de Lobera, her mother Francisca de Torres. A deaf-mute from birth she was cured of her affliction during a pilgrimage to a shrine of our Lady. Bereft of both parents at the age of nine she was brought up by her grandmother who formed various projects of marriage for her, personal beauty and refined manners proving a powerful attraction. But Anne spurned indiscreet attentions, placed herself under the direction of a saintly Jesuit, Pedro Rodriguez, who tried her by apparent harshness but finally consented to her seeking admission into S. Teresa's convent at Avila, 1st August 1570. The Saint took a great fancy to the newcomer, treated her more as a companion and friend than as a novice, made her share her own cell, and took her to the foundation of Salamanca, where she made her mistress of novices even before profession, which took place 22nd October 1571. Anne accompanied S. Teresa to Veas (1575) and remained there as prioress enjoying the friendship and direction of S. John of the Cross during his sojourn at Baeza. When her term of office drew to its end S. Teresa requested the nuns not to re-elect her as she had chosen her for the foundation at Granada then in contemplation. S. John of the Cross went to Avila to induce S. Teresa herself to come to Granada but failing this he was glad to have Anne of Jesus. The foundation, though not as difficult as some others, was by no means easy, and S. Teresa, being but partially informed and writing from a distance, addressed some strongly worded letters to Anne, but the good understanding was soon restored. Anne remained at Granada about four years after which she was commissioned to carry out another project of Teresa's, then deceased,

namely a foundation at Madrid where she remained eight years. In this period falls a great trial; the Superiors of the Discalced Carmelites having resolved to improve (as they thought) on S. Teresa's work changed the constitutions of the nuns, a proceeding which was not only resented but actively resisted by Anne and a considerable number of nuns who appealed to Rome. They gained their point but were subjected to severe penalties by the superiors in Spain, the punishment meted out to Anne of Jesus being particularly severe. During these years she procured the publication, by Fray Luis de Leon, of the writings of S. Teresa (with the exception of the *Book of Foundations* and the Letters) for which purpose she collected the original manuscripts, even that of the *Life* which until then had remained in the hands of the Inquisition. From 1594 till 1604 she resided at Salamanca, the convent of her profession, where she filled for some years the position of prioress. Meanwhile negotiations had been carried on with a view towards establishing the order in France, and Anne was chosen as first prioress of the convent of Paris; other foundations followed, but owing to difficulties she withdrew to Belgium where she was cordially welcomed by the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, the daughter of Philip II. Having set on foot a number of foundations she died at Brussels, 4th March 1621 in the odor of sanctity. Her process of Beatification has reached that stage where she is declared a 'Venerable servant of God,' and it is hoped that ere long it will further advance.

At the request of Father Gratian, then Provincial of the Discalced Carmelites, Anne of Jesus wrote the following account of the foundation of Granada.

1. Your Reverence bids me write an account of the foundation of the convent of Granada. Owing to the weakness of my head my memory is so defective that I do not know whether I shall recall the facts; I will relate what I can remember.

2. In October eighty-five it was four years since Father Diego of the Blessed Trinity (whom God hold in glory!) Vicar of that part of your province, came to Veas for the canonical visitation. I had then ceased to be prioress for three or four months, and was very ill. Although seeing me in such a state he began speaking seriously about our coming to Granada as many of the most prominent persons as well as some wealthy young

ladies of good family desired a foundation and offered substantial donations.<sup>1</sup>

3. It seemed to me that it was only his own good faith that made him believe in their promised help ; I told him that I thought their offer an empty compliment, that they would do nothing, nor would the archbishop<sup>2</sup> grant permission for a convent founded in poverty because there were already so many others which could hardly maintain themselves, as Granada had lately been laid waste, and the harvest had failed for several years. The father saw the force of my argument, but, anxious to make the foundation, was more hopeful than ever, and told me that the Licentiate Laguna, auditor at the Court of Granada, and father (Gaspar) Salazar of the Society of Jesus, had promised him privately to obtain the licence of the archbishop.

4. All this appeared to me very uncertain, as afterwards proved to be the case, but as the father had set his heart on it I earnestly commended it to God and begged the sisters to ask Him for light whether the foundation should be made. His Majesty gave us to understand very clearly that we were to expect neither human aid nor favour, but that we ought to found the house confiding in His providence as we had already done elsewhere under similar circumstances, and that He would take care of it and would be greatly served in it. This came to me after Communion when the

<sup>1</sup> Fray Diego de la Trinidad, originally a Jeronymite, afterwards Carmelite, a zealous, prudent and amiable man, and a great servant of God. He had accompanied father John of Jesus (Roca) to Rome to obtain the separation from the Calced friars. At this time he was prior of Seville and Vicar-provincial of Andalucia. He died of the plague in May 1582.

<sup>2</sup> Don Juan Mendez de Salvatierra, archbishop of Granada since 1576.



Father Visitor had been at Veas for three weeks urging the foundation of the convent.

5. In spite of all my doubts and excuses I made up my mind directly I had communicated ; I said to Sister Beatriz of S. Michael, the portress who had also communicated : ‘ Believe me that God wishes the convent of Granada to be founded ; go and call father John of the Cross that I may tell him as my confessor what God has made known to me.’ When I had put it before him in confession Father John thought we should acquaint Father Visitor so that he might write to your paternity for the licence. The matter was decided on that very same day<sup>3</sup> and all that was needed was sent, to the great joy of the fathers and of the whole community who knew that the foundation had been decided upon.

6. We wrote to you, also to our holy Mother Teresa of Jesus, begging that four nuns might be sent from Castille for the new foundation which we asked her to come and make herself as we felt confident of its success. We also arranged that father John of the Cross with another religious should go and meet the nuns, taking all that was required for them on their journey. They went from Veas to Avila to speak to our holy Mother Teresa of Jesus, and from there sent a messenger to you at Salamanca.<sup>4</sup> Seeing the letters you granted all our requests, leaving to our holy Mother the choice of the nuns whom we considered requisite.

7. She sent us two from the convent of Avila : Mother Mary of Christ who had been prioress there for five

<sup>3</sup> 13th November 1581.

<sup>4</sup> Father Gratian had just founded a convent of friars and college at Salamanca (1st June 1581) named San Lazaro from the church given it by Don Andres de Cordoba, which had belonged to the lepers (*Peregrinacion*, dial. xiii.)

years, and Sister Antonia of the Holy Ghost, one of the four first who had received the habit there ;<sup>5</sup> from Toledo she gave us Sister Beatriz of Jesus who had been long professed and was a relative of our holy Mother. Her Reverence could not come herself as she was just leaving for the foundation of Burgos which took place at the same time. Long before she had written telling me that when the time came she would not herself found the house at Granada because she believed God wished me to undertake the work.<sup>6</sup>

8. It seemed to me impossible to undertake any foundation without her reverence, so I was distressed when, on the feast of the Conception of our Lady the sisters arrived at Veas without her. She told me in a letter they brought that to please me she wished she could have come but that our great God had otherwise ordained ; she felt quite certain that I should manage matters perfectly well at Granada and that His Majesty would help me greatly, and this was the beginning of the troubles which were to follow.

<sup>5</sup> See *Life*, ch. xxxvi. 5.

<sup>6</sup> On the 28th of November S. Teresa wrote to Mother Mary of S. Joseph, prioress of Seville : ' I have asked you (in another letter of the same date, now lost) to send two sisters of your convent to Granada ; I trust you will not choose the least fit ; I beg it of you in charity as you know how important it is they should be truly perfect and capable.' On the next day she told the provincial, father Gratian that she had chosen three nuns from Avila, three from Veas, including Anne of Jesus as prioress, two from Seville and two lay sisters from Villanueva de la Jara where there were five. ' Anne of Jesus will be displeased for she would have liked to make all the arrangements herself.' In fact she did not receive the two lay sisters but sent them back to their own convent much to the annoyance of S. Teresa who remonstrated with her in a letter of 30th May. The reason was that there were neither sufficient means nor the necessary accommodation for so many nuns, and Anne acted on the advice of the Vicar-provincial and of S. John of the Cross ; matters were explained afterwards.

9. While the nuns were being fetched from Castille the Father Vicar Provincial, Diego of the Trinity, went to Granada to negotiate about the assistance which he felt confident of receiving, and was to write to us to come when affairs were all in good train. The zealous priest must have worked hard to obtain some fulfilment of the promises made him and to get the licence from the archbishop. But he could get nothing, still he did not cease to write to Veas in good confidence (of which he possessed a large share) about the many advantages that had been held out to him.

10. I laughed at this and wrote advising him to make no account of them, but to hire any house he could, so that we might enter, as the nuns had now arrived from Castille. The poor father was discouraged, for he could not even do this : no house was to be found, and though he had been to see the archbishop and was supported in his request by two of the senior auditors, Don Luis de Mercado and the licentiate Laguna, it was impossible to persuade the archbishop to agree to our coming. On the contrary he was annoyed at it and answered bitterly.

11. He said that he would like to abolish the convents that were already there, and why should more nuns be brought to a place where after the years of famine the people could find nothing to eat ? He made other very unpleasant remarks. On hearing this the gentlemen who were advocating the matter for us were annoyed, as they knew how we were writing from Veas and hurrying the matter on, and saying how little was required for the ten nuns who were to come. They helped the father secretly and managed to persuade a magistrate of the city to let a house to us. This being done he wrote

bidding us come, and was deeply grieved at having nothing more to offer us. We were waiting at Veas firmly resolved to start as soon as the father let us know that we could do so as had been settled between father John of the Cross and the sisters who had been with us since the thirteenth of January.<sup>7</sup>

12. During the delay I went to make my prayer one afternoon at the accustomed hour and was meditating upon the Gospel of the baptism of our Lord where He says to Saint John 'It becometh us to fulfil all justice.'<sup>8</sup> I was absorbed in thought and had forgotten all about the foundation when I heard a loud outcry of confused shouts which appeared to me to come from devils who were very angry because a messenger was coming with a letter telling us to go to Granada. While I was thinking this the noise grew so loud that I became faint and feeling ill. I drew close to the Mother prioress who was near by; she, thinking that I was suffering from weakness bade someone to bring me something to eat.

13. I asked them by signs not to do so but to see who was calling at the turn: they went and found the messenger with the letter bidding us to start.

14. There arose such a terrible storm that it seemed the whole world would be drowned with rain and hail-stones; it made me so ill that I thought I was dying. The doctors and all who saw me considered it impossible for me to begin the journey for the pains and discomfort

<sup>7</sup> Besides the three sisters from Castille already mentioned four were chosen from Veas, namely, in addition to Anne of Jesus as the future prioress Beatrice of S. Michael, Eleanor-Bautista of Jesus and Lucy of S. Joseph; and two from Seville, Mary of Jesus and Mary of S. Paul.

<sup>8</sup> S. Matthew iii. 15. *Sic enim decet nos implere omnem justitiam.* The octave of Epiphany (13th January) is set apart for the consideration of the baptism of Christ.

I suffered were agonising. But as they appeared to me to be supernatural I took courage and urged the others to get ready the carriages and whatever else was necessary so that we might start next day. It was Saturday evening when the messenger arrived and all Sunday I was so ill that I could not even hear mass though my cell was near the choir.

15. We left at three o'clock on Monday morning, to the great joy of the whole party, for it seemed to them that they would render our Lord great service by this expedition. The weather was fine but the state of the road, owing to the previous storm, such that the mules could hardly get along.<sup>9</sup> When we reached Dayfuentes the fathers who accompanied us, John of the Cross and Peter of the Angels, and myself discussed the means of obtaining the licence of the archbishop and of overcoming his refusal to allow the foundation.

16. On the night on which we reached Dayfuentes we heard a terrible thunder clap ; a bolt fell in Granada on the Archbishop's own house, near the room where he slept, burning part of his library and killing some of his mules. It alarmed him so that he fell ill, and they say that the fright made him feel more kindly towards us, for no one remembers a thunderbolt ever having fallen at Granada at this time of the year.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Two incidents of this journey are recorded in the depositions of Mother John-Evangelist and Mother Mary of S. John. At one point the travellers came dangerously near the edge of a precipice down which they must inevitably have fallen had not a man suddenly appeared and ordered them to alter their course ; Anne of Jesus afterwards declared him to have been S. Joseph. Later on they met a man who had been so badly thrown that he appeared lifeless. Anne bade the nuns join her in prayer, and after a short time he revived and found himself so well as to be able to remount his horse and continue the journey.

<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless the Archbishop received S. John of the Cross, who had hastened on and called on him the following morning, very coldly and persisted in his refusal.



17. On the same day the person who had let the house to Father Vicar which we were to enter, retracted his promise and the agreement made with Don Luis de Mercado and the Licentiate Laguna, alleging that he had not known it was to be rented for a convent; now he would not quit the place nor would any of the people who lived there. He kept to his word and refused to be influenced by our two friends though they offered him fifty thousand ducats security. We were due to arrive in two days and our friends did not know what to do. Don Luis de Mercado said to his sister, Doña Ana de Peñalosa<sup>11</sup> to whom the Father Vicar had not mentioned the matter: 'Sister, as these nuns are already on their way it would be a good thing if we could offer them hospitality in our own house and were to give them a room until they can find some corner in which to shelter themselves.'

18. This excellent lady who for the last two years had not left her oratory where she wept over the death of her husband and her only daughter, at once felt her spirits revive as she told us afterwards. She immediately set to work to prepare her house and get everything ready for the chapel and for our lodging. She gave us very good accommodation although the space was limited, the house being small. We arrived there on the feast of Saints Fabian and Sebastian<sup>12</sup> at three o'clock in the morning, this being the most suitable hour as we wished to keep the matter secret. We found the pious lady at the door

<sup>11</sup> Doña Ana de Peñalosa was the widow of Don Juan de Guevara who died in 1579. She was a penitent of S. John of the Cross, who wrote at her request the Explanation of his poem *The Living Flame of Love*. The last letter preserved of him is addressed to her; it bears the date Peñuela, 21st September 1591, that is less than three months before his death.

<sup>12</sup> 20th January 1582.

of her house where she received us with tears and great affection.

19. We also wept as we sang *Laudate Dominum*, overjoyed at seeing the chapel which she had prepared for us in the porch, although as we had no licence from the archbishop I begged them to close it ; I also asked the friars and the Father Vicar who were present not even to think of ringing a bell or of saying mass either publicly or privately until we had the consent of the archbishop which I trusted to Providence he would soon grant.<sup>13</sup>

20. I wrote to him announcing our arrival and begging him to come and give us his blessing and place the Blessed Sacrament in our chapel, for although it was a feast day we should not hear Mass without his permission. He answered very kindly telling us we were welcome, that he was exceedingly glad that we had come, and would have liked to get up and say our first Mass for us, but as he was ill he sent his provisor<sup>14</sup> to say it and to do whatever else I might require.

21. The latter arrived soon afterwards, at seven o'clock in the morning. I begged him to say Mass, to give us all Holy Communion and to place the Blessed Sacrament on the altar. He did so with great solemnity in the presence of the auditors and so great a concourse of people that it was wonderful how they could have heard

<sup>13</sup> Anne of Jesus spent the rest of the night in finishing the decoration of the chapel and preparing it for Mass. Father Vicar who had given up all hope of obtaining the archbishop's consent was of opinion that the bell might be rung, Mass celebrated and the Blessed Sacrament reserved in token of the inauguration of the convent ; the archbishop would yield before an accomplished fact, and would not dare to disband a convent founded in the house of Don Luis de Mercado and favoured by the members of the court of Granada. This opinion was shared by everyone except Mother Anne of Jesus.

<sup>14</sup> Don Antonio Barba.

of the matter thus quickly. By eight o'clock in the morning of the day we came the Blessed Sacrament had been placed in the chapel and more masses were being said.

22. All Granada came to the place as if they had come to gain a Jubilee ; they cried unanimously that we were saints, and that God had visited their town by bringing us. On the same day Don Luis de Mercado and the Licentiate Laguna called on the Archbishop who was ill from the effects of the thunderbolt which had fallen two days before. They found him in a violent passion at our arrival.<sup>15</sup> They asked him if he was so annoyed why had he given us permission to found our convent ? He answered : ' I could not help it, I was forced to act as I did, though very repugnant because I do not wish to see nuns in my diocese. But I do not intend to give them anything for I cannot maintain the communities I have already.' Thus we began to be really poor, both in name and in fact.

23. The alms bestowed on us by Doña Ana were very small and other people gave us nothing as we were living in her house to which all the poor had resort and from which large sums were given to nearly all the religious houses and hospitals in the town. Thus, no one supposed that we were in want and on several days we should not have been able to feed ourselves on what this lady gave us if our Discalced Fathers of the convent of *Los Martires* <sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> The Spanish wording *echando chispas*, throwing out sparks, is even more expressive.

<sup>16</sup> The convent of the Discalced Carmelite friars called *Los Martires* had been founded by Father Jerome Gratian on 19th May 1573. It was situated close to the Alhambra, but separated from it by a ravine. There had been a hermitage erected over the ruins of the prisons in which the Moors used to keep their Christian captives. While digging

had not sent us some bread and fish. They themselves were very badly off on account of the great dearth and scarcity from which Andalucia suffered that year.

24. We had no other bedding except what we had brought with us, which was so little that only two or three could sleep on it, and most of us were obliged to rest during the night on some rush mats that were in the choir. We were so delighted at this that, in case it might be stopped, we let nobody know of our need ; above all we hid it from our devout hostess lest we might be troublesome to her. As she saw that we always looked satisfied and contented, and believing that we were good and mortified nuns, she did not notice that we required anything more than she had given us. It was thus that we passed the greater part of the seven months we lived in her house.

25. During that time we received many visitors belonging to the best society of the town, besides religious of all the Orders, who spoke of nothing else but our rashness in founding houses in such poverty, destitute of all human aid. We answered that it was this which guaranteed Divine support and that our confidence in God, after the many proofs He had given to our convents of His care and providence, removed all our anxiety about their foundation. Indeed, we preferred it to any other way, for we thought it was the safest course. Our visitors laughed very much at our words and at how contented we were in our tiny enclosure which we were so strict in keeping that even Don Luis de Mercado,

near it for water among the bones of the Moors was found the skeleton of the holy archbishop Gonzalo of Jaén who died in prison having bestowed his ransom brought by his flock to redeem other prisoners who were in danger of losing their faith. *Peregrinación de Anastasio*, dial. xiii, p. 209.

who lived in the same house, had never seen us without our veils down and no one knew what our faces looked like.

26. In this we were not doing more than our Rule obliges us, but that is thought very highly of in Granada. Many persons of all classes came to ask for the habit but although they numbered more than two hundred we did not see one whom we could receive conformably to our Constitutions. We therefore avoided speaking to some of them and put the others off, telling them that they must learn to know our mode of life first and that we were bound to test their vocation. Besides which, we could not take fresh members until we had another house, as we had room for no more. We made great efforts to find another dwelling, but no place could be had, either for hire or for sale.

27. I felt rather troubled at times by lack of aid from the inhabitants of the town, but whenever I thought about it, I seemed to hear the words Christ our Lord said to His apostles: 'When I sent you without purse and scrip and shoes, did you want anything?'<sup>17</sup> and my soul replied: 'No indeed, Lord!' in full confidence that, both in spiritual and temporal matters, His Majesty would provide for us abundantly.

28. All this did not happen without a special purpose, for the most distinguished priests and preachers of the city came and said masses and gave us their sermons, almost without our asking them. They liked to hear our confessions and to learn about our life. This increased the trust I felt in my heart that we should want for nothing, which trust was given me by God as it arose from an incident which occurred directly I came to

<sup>17</sup> St Luke xxii. 35.



the place. I heard interiorly the words, uttered with great stress and emphasis : ‘*Scapulis suis obumbrabit tibi, et sub pennis ejus sperabis.*’<sup>18</sup> I related this to my confessor, Father John of the Cross, and to Father Master John-Baptist de Ribera of the Society of Jesus to whom I told all that happened to me both in and out of confession. It appeared to both of them to be a sort of pledge, given me by our Lord, that this foundation would be prosperous, as up to this time, that is during four years, it has been, blessed be His name ! The sisters who came with me assure me that during all this time they have experienced a deeper sense of the presence of His Majesty and of His communications than ever before in their lives.

29. This became evident both in their own advancement and in that which everyone said was caused by their example in the convents in the city. I learnt from the President, Don Pedro de Castro, that a great change for the better had taken place in these nuns since we came, and there are large numbers of them in Granada. To the favours granted by God which I have already mentioned He added another signal grace—that of so realising that our Lord Jesus Christ kept us company in the Blessed Sacrament of the altar, that we seemed to perceive His bodily Presence visibly. This was so usual and so universal, that we often spoke to one another about it, saying that the Blessed Sacrament never had produced the same effect upon us in any other place. This consolation which we felt directly it was placed in the chapel, still remains with some of us, although not so perceptibly as during the first seven months.

<sup>18</sup> Ps. xc. 4. ‘He will overshadow thee with his shoulders : and under his wings thou shalt trust.’

30. At the end of this period <sup>19</sup> we found a house to rent which we entered in perfect secrecy, without the knowledge of the landlord, the former tenant having left it empty. You had then come from Baeza to look after our interests. Nothing more could be done until ten months afterwards when our Lord began to inspire some young ladies of the first families of the city with a serious desire of joining us. Encouraged by their confessors, without asking leave of their parents and relations who would never have consented to their entering so austere an Order, they came, unknown to anyone, to take our habit.

31. After a few days six of them were clothed with great solemnity. Their relatives were very indignant and the whole city was disturbed, for people thought it was a terrible thing to enter our community. Many persons, we were told, took great care to prevent their daughters visiting us, for the mother and father of sister Marianne of Jesus, the first whom we received, died soon afterwards, and report said that their death was caused by grief. As for her, she has never repented having come, on the contrary, she is very happy and grateful to our Lord for having called her to this Order. She has turned out very well, as have all those who entered with her at that time, also those whom we have received since <sup>20</sup>.

32. When they were professed we tried to purchase a

<sup>19</sup> August 1582. The house they subsequently entered was situated in the *Calle Elvira* and belonged to Don Alonso de Granada y Alarcon.

<sup>20</sup> They were: Marianne of Jesus (de los Cameros), afterwards prioress of Granada and foundress of Almodovar and Cabra; Isabel of the Incarnation (de Puebla), foundress of Baeza and prioress of Jaen; Mary of S. John (de Velasco); Catherine of the Holy Ghost (de Leyva), three times prioress of Granada; Catherine of Jesus who afterwards went to Malaga, and Mary of S. Paul. *Œuvres*, iv. 242, note 2.

house with their dowries but although we negotiated for several and the agreements were actually written out, yet the purchase was never made until we decided upon one belonging to the Duke de Sesa. Yet there were such great obstacles to this purchase that it seemed madness to fix upon it, as everyone said, although it was the most suitable for us and the most favourably situated in Granada. However, I resolved to try to obtain it, for two years ago the sister who acts as my secretary (whom I do not name for you know well who she is) told me that our Lord had three times given her to understand that the convent was to be in the Duke's house, and she knew this with such certainty that nothing would be able to prevent it. Now it has come to pass, as your Reverence is aware, and we are living there at present <sup>21</sup>.

ANNE OF JESUS.

<sup>21</sup> Situated *Calle San Matias* ; it still serves as convent of the Teresian nuns.

## THE VISITATION OF THE NUNNERIES

1. Humility.—2. Temporals.—3. The visitor must be firm.—4. Danger of slight relaxations.—5. Time brings laxity.—6. Humility.—7. The visitor must be strict.—8. And remove unfit prioresses.—9. Of the endowed houses.—10. The houses unendowed.—11. Handiwork of the nuns not to be passed over.—12. Extravagance.—13. The monasteries not to be large houses.—14. Of the interior arrangements.—15. The inquisition to be strict.—16. Of the interior discipline of the house.—17. The nuns may not go from one house to another to please themselves.—18. Particular friendships.—19. Of nuns who find fault.—20. Importance of keeping the Constitutions.—21. The visitor to be told everything.—22. Sincerity in the visited.—23. Innovations strictly forbidden.—24. The admission of novices.—25. Profession.—26. Lay Sisters.—27. The number of nuns.—28. Indiscreet devotions.—29. Of the singing in choir.—30. Precautions against negligence.—31. All faults to be manifested.—32. The visitor to keep the secret.—33. Especially from the prioress.—34. Poverty to be strictly observed.—35. Necessity of exactness in the visitor.—36. The obligations of nuns under the visitation.—37. Of the confessor.—38. Economy.—39. Of the dress.—40. And language.—41. Lawsuits to be avoided.—42. The admission of novices.—43. The visitor to be cautious in his conduct.—44. And diligent in his visit.—45. Entertainment of the visitor.—46. Fray Jerome of the Mother of God.—47. The visitor must not be too friendly with the prioress.—48. Self-deceit.—49. Difficult to overcome.—Letter to Father Jerome Gratian.

J. H. S.

1. FIRST of all, I confess my imperfection when I began this work, in the matter of obedience, for, while desirous of the possession of that virtue above all others, my mortification has been very great and my reluctance strong. May it please our Lord that I may say something to the purpose, for my only trust is in His compassion, and in

the humility of him who has ordered me to write ;<sup>1</sup> for the sake of which, God, being all-mighty, will do the work without regard unto me.

2. Though it may be considered unseemly to begin with the temporal, I think it of the utmost consequence, in order that the spiritual may always make greater progress, though it does not seem so in monasteries founded in poverty : besides, order is necessary everywhere, and the government and arrangement of everything must be considered.

3. I take it for granted, in the first place, that it is in the highest degree necessary for a superior to carry himself towards his subjects in this way—he should be gentle with them on the one hand, and show them affection ; and on the other hand he should make them feel that he will be strict in essential matters, and never yield to their caprice. I do not believe that anything in the world does so much harm to a superior as the not being feared, and that his subjects should think they can deal with him as with an equal, especially when women are concerned ; for if they once see such softness in their superior as makes him overlook their shortcomings, and change his mind lest they should be made uneasy, the government of them will be a very difficult matter.

4. It is very necessary they should feel that there is one above them without mercy for anything that weakens the observances of religion, and that the judge should be so upright in judgment as to convince them he will never swerve from that which tends to the advancement of the service of God, and to greater perfection, even if the world were to come to an end. He should be gentle and affectionate with them, but only so long as he discerns

<sup>1</sup> Fray Jerome Gratian of the Mother of God, provincial at the time.



no falling away ; for as it is necessary for him to show himself gentle and like a loving father—which helps much to console them and to keep them from being estranged from him—it is necessary also to be strict, as I have just said. If he fails in either of these two conditions, it is beyond comparison better he should fail in gentleness rather than in strictness ; for, as the visitation, in order to correct affectionately and root out imperfections gradually, is made but once a year, unless the nuns understand that their faults will be redressed and punished at the year's end, one year after another may pass away, and religious observances may be so relaxed as to make it impossible to restore them at will ; for, even if the fault be in the prioress, the nuns themselves have become accustomed to relaxation, and thus, by degrees and by little things, irreparable wrong may be done to religion. But the superior who shall not redress it in time will have a fearful account to give unto God.

5. I think that in speaking of such things I am doing a wrong to the monasteries of the Virgin our Lady, when, by the goodness of our Lord, they are so far from needing this severity ; but I am driven to say it by the fear I am in that time, as usual, will bring laxity into the monasteries through a disregard of these principles, and also because I see the monasteries, by the goodness of God, grow more and more daily, in some of which, perhaps, some flaw might be found if the prelates were not to see that observed of which I am speaking, namely, a severe correction of small faults, and the removal of prioresses found to be unfit for their places.

6. It is necessary in this matter, above all things, to be without pity, for there are many nuns who are great saints, but yet unfit for the place of the prioress : that

must be seen to at once ; for in an order wherein there is so much mortification, and wherein the exercise of humility is so constant, no nun will consider it a wrong done to her : should she do so, she will thereby show plainly that she was not fit for the office, for the government of souls aiming at a perfection so high is not for her who is so imperfect herself as to wish to be a prioress.

7. The visitor must have the fear of God continually before him, and also the graces bestowed on these houses, that they may not be lessened through him, and he must cast aside certain feelings of tenderness which, for the most part, the devil stirs up for some great evil. Not to do so is the greatest cruelty towards his subjects.

8. It is not possible that every one whom the nuns may choose for prioress should be possessed of the gifts which the office requires, and if it should be found to be so a year must not pass by on any account before she is removed : she may not do much harm in one year but in three she may ruin the monastery by allowing imperfections to grow into a custom. It is so extremely important that this be done, and though the visitor be distressed at it because he thinks her a saint, and that she has no bad intentions, he must do violence to himself, and not allow her to remain in office. I entreat him to do so by the love of our Lord, and if he shall see that those who have to elect a prioress are under the influence of any prejudice or passion—which God forbid—he must quash the election, and name a prioress from other monasteries of ours whom the nuns are to elect ; for an election made that way can never come to any good.

9. I do not know whether what I am speaking about is temporal or spiritual. What I wished to speak about

at first was this—the visitor must look closely and carefully into the accounts of the house, and he must not pass them lightly. It is very necessary, especially in the endowed houses, that the outgoings be according to the incomings, let the nuns live as they may, for, God be praised ! all of them are so well endowed that they can live very well if they are at all careful : otherwise, if they begin to run into debt they will be ruined by little and little, for if they should be in great want the superiors will think it cruel not to let them have the fruit of the work of their own hands, or not to let their kindred provide for them, or something of that sort not hitherto allowed among us ; for I would much rather see the monastery broken up than see it come to such a pass. This is why I said that great harm is wont to come to the spiritual from the temporal, and in that sense it is a most important matter.<sup>2</sup>

10. In the monasteries founded in poverty they must look to it, and take care that they make no debts ; for if they have faith and please God He will not abandon them if they are not wasteful. In these houses, as well as in the others, the visitor must make most minute inquiries concerning the food of the sisters, and the treatment they receive ; concerning the sick also, and he must see that they are sufficiently supplied with whatever is necessary for them, which our Lord never fails to furnish if the prioress is courageous and attentive ; and experience has already shown it to be so.

11. To notice the work done in the monasteries of both foundations, and further to take into account what the nuns have made by the labour of their hands, serves two good purposes ; one is, that the nuns who have done

<sup>2</sup> See § 2 above.

much are encouraged and rewarded ; the other is, that in those monasteries where so much attention is not given to handiwork, because the necessities are not so great, the nuns may be told of what nuns elsewhere have gained for themselves ; for this attention paid to their work, setting aside the temporal advantage, profits greatly in every way. Besides, it is a comfort to the nuns when at work to know that the superior will see it ; for, though that is not of any importance, still that comfort should be given to women so strictly enclosed, and whose whole pleasure consists in pleasing their superior, coming down at times to the level of our weakness.

12. The visitor must inquire if any costly presents have been made. Such an inquiry is more especially necessary in the endowed houses, for they are able to do more in that way, and monasteries usually come to ruin through that which seems to be of slight importance. Prioresses, if wasteful, may leave their nuns without food that they may have something to give away, as may be seen in some places : hence the necessity of considering what the community may do out of its income, and what it may give in alms, and of having everything done within the bounds of discretion.

13. The visitor must not allow the houses to be excessively large,<sup>3</sup> and they must not get into debt adorning them or by adding to them except under a pressing necessity : to secure this, it will be necessary to command that no work shall be done without first giving notice to the superior, with an account of the means for doing it, in order that he, according to circumstances, may give or withhold his sanction. This is not to be understood of little matters, which can do no great harm ;

<sup>3</sup> See *Foundations*, ch. xiv. 4 ; and *Way of Perfection*, ch. ii. 7.

but it is better to bear the inconvenience of being in a house that is not a very good one than to go about disquieting themselves, become a scandal because of their debts, or be without food to eat.

14. It is of great consequence always to examine the house thoroughly, in order to see that enclosure is observed, because it is well to take away all opportunities of evil, and not to trust the goodness that is visible, how great soever it may be, for no one can tell what it will be in times to come; and hence it becomes necessary to think of all the evil that may arise, for the purpose of removing, as I have just said, all opportunities for it. The parlours must be looked into particularly, of which the grating should be double, an inner grating and an outer one, through neither of which should it be possible for anybody to thrust his hand. This is of great importance; and the visitor must look into the confessionals, and see that the curtains thereof are nailed, and the little window for communion small. As to the outer door, he must see that it has two bolts, and there are two keys to the door of the cloisters, as the chapter acts prescribe, one of which shall be kept by the portress, the other by the prioress. It is so at present, I know, but I set it down here that it may never be forgotten—for these are all matters which it is necessary to look into always—and that the nuns may see it will be looked into, that no negligence may creep in.

15. The visitor must make inquiries about the chaplain and the confessor, and see that there is not too frequent a communication between them and the nuns, but only that which is necessary; and on this point he must make very special inquiries of the nuns, and about the observance of enclosure in the house. If a sister becomes



infatuated he must hear her patiently, for though very often she will think things to be other than they are, and fall into exaggerations, yet he may receive hints from her which will enable him to find out the truth from the others, laying his commands upon them to speak it ; and afterwards he shall chastise the fault with severity, that they may be afraid to repeat it.

16. If any sisters, when the prioress is not in fault, shall dwell on trifles, or make much of little things in their story, severity is necessary in dealing with them, and they must be made to see their own blindness, that they may not live on in their restlessness ; for when they shall see that they gain nothing by it, and that they are found out, they will become quiet. When the things complained of are not of grave importance, the visitor must always take the part of the prioress, though he does correct what is amiss, because the simplicity of perfect obedience tends greatly to the peace of the subjects ; for the devil may be tempting some of them to think that they understand the matter better than the prioress, and to continue always on the watch for trifles, whereby great harm may ensue. The superior, in his discretion, will apply himself to this, so that when he departs he may leave them in a better state : if, however, they be given to melancholy, he will have enough to do. He must not be gentle with melancholy nuns, because they will never be at rest, nor will they cease from being troublesome if they think they can have their own way in anything ; on the contrary, they should be made to feel always that they are to be corrected, and for that end the visitor must take the part of the prioress.

17. If a sister chance to make any attempts to get herself removed to another monastery, she must be answered

in such a way that both herself and every one else shall for ever feel it to be impossible. Nobody, indeed, unless it be one who has seen it, can know the very grave inconveniences that arise, and what a door is opened for the devil to tempt them, when they think they can leave the house for the weighty reasons which, for that purpose, they are sure to urge. And, though it might be that they are to be removed, they must not be allowed to know it or to feel that it is done because they wished it, but it must be brought about by some other means ; for a nun of this kind will never be settled anywhere, and great harm will be done to the others if they are not made to see that the nun who wishes to leave her house is one whom the superior will never trust in anything ; and even if he had meant to remove her—I mean for some necessary work or for another foundation—he should never do so for that very reason. And, moreover, it is right thus to act, for these temptations never attack any but nuns given to melancholy, or nuns who are naturally useless for any great work. Perhaps it would be as well, before a nun speaks of her wish to be removed, for the visitor to make a discourse on the subject, showing how wrong it is, and how ill he thinks of any one caught in the toils of this temptation, and to explain the reasons, and to say how impossible it is now for any one to leave the house she is in, none of them being any longer necessary anywhere out<sup>4</sup> of their houses.

<sup>4</sup> The Saint, in a letter to Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, then, by decree of the nuncio, visitor of the order, writes as follows :—‘ Attend to this, my father, and believe me I understand the caprices of women better than you do : it is not good either for prioresses or their subjects that you should let them know it is possible for any one to be removed from one house to another, except when new foundations are made. Even the expectation of that change really does harm, and I have often

18. The visitor must inquire whether the prioress has a special friend among the nuns for whom she does more than for the rest, for unless she does so there is no reason for adverting to it, if the friendship be not excessive—the prioresses being always under the necessity of conversing more with the wiser and discreeter nuns. But, as we naturally do not see ourselves as we really are, we all of us think ourselves as good as anybody else, and accordingly the devil may tempt some of them in this way ; for in the absence of serious troubles from without Satan stirs up trifles within, that we may be always at war and gain merit by resisting his assaults, whence it comes that a sister may think that this sister or those sisters rule the prioress. If the friendship be in excess it should be checked, because it is a great temptation to the weak, but not wholly forbidden, because those who are the objects of it may be, as I have just said, such as may make it necessary ; but it is always well to insist upon the absence of any special familiarity with any one. The nature of it will soon be known.

19. There are some who in their own opinion are so excessively perfect that they consider everything they see to be a fault, being always themselves the very persons who have the most faults, but, seeing none of them, they lay the whole blame on the poor prioress or on the others,

wished that no more foundations were made, that every one may be settled where she is. Believe me,—and if I die do not forget it—Satan wants nothing more than that cloistered women should think anything possible. I have much to say about this, for, though I have leave from our father-general—I asked for it—to remove a nun when I saw the climate did not agree with her, I have since then seen so many inconveniences ensue that, were it not for the good of the order, I should not do it, for it is much better that some nuns should die than that all the nuns should be injured' (Letter of the end of 1575).

and so may make the superior foolishly torment himself in searching for a remedy for that which is right. It is therefore necessary, in order to be safe in correcting, not to trust the testimony of one nun by herself, as I said before, but to make inquiries of the others ;<sup>5</sup> for in a community where so much austerity is practised it would be insufferable if every superior, or the same superior at every visitation, were to make new decrees ;<sup>6</sup> and therefore, except in grave matters—and, as I said before,<sup>7</sup> after inquiries made of the prioress herself and of the others concerning that which is to be corrected, and why and how—the visitor must not make decrees, for he may make so many that the nuns, unable to endure them, may fail to keep the substance of the rule itself.<sup>8</sup>

20. What the superior has to insist on is the keeping of the constitutions : and wherever there shall be a prioress

<sup>5</sup> See § 15.

<sup>6</sup> Margin: This is very important.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> The Saint was very much afraid of the friars on this point, and had complained of this heavy burdening of her nuns to Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, as early as 1576. In a letter written to him 19th November of that year, she cries out against the heavy burdens which Fray Juan of Jesus had laid upon his friars. The austere friar seems to have forbidden the religious who communicated in the morning to appear at the recreation, at which the Saint, in her indignation, asks what are the priests then to do? ‘This is what my nuns are afraid of: they are afraid of harsh visitors who will overwhelm and crush them . . . It is strange nobody thinks he has made a visitation if he has not made decrees. If there is to be no recreation on the days of communion, and yet mass is said daily, there will be then no recreation at all. If the priests do not observe such a rule, why should other poor people have to keep it? . . . The mere reading of these decrees frets me: what should I do if I had to keep them? Believe me, our rule cannot bear austere men: it is austere enough as it is.’ The visitor had laid down this rule only for those who were not in priests’ orders—lay brothers and clerics—but the Saint and her nuns were afraid he might introduce it also among themselves.

who for trifling reasons shall take so great a liberty as to break the constitutions, or shall habitually do so, thinking the observance of them on this point and on that to be a matter of little moment, let it be clearly understood she is doing the community a grievous wrong, and time will show it, though it may not seem so at present. This is the reason why monasteries, and even orders are so fallen in some places ; slight things are slightly regarded, and hence the most grievous falls.<sup>9</sup>

21. The visitor must publicly warn them that they are to tell him of every fault of this kind in the monastery, and if he find any of which nothing is said let her who has not told him of it receive a most severe correction. This will make the prioresses afraid and cautious. He must never compromise matters with the prioresses, whether they are distressed or not, but they must be made to understand that so matters must always be, and that the chief reason why they are in office is that they are to see that the rules and constitutions are kept ; not to take away from them nor to add to them of their own head ; and that there must be one to see to this, and to tell the superior of it.

22. I consider it to be impossible for that prioress to have discharged the duties of her office aright who has done anything which she shall be sorry for if it comes to the knowledge of the visitor, for that is a sign that the service of God has not been carried on aright, if anything therein has been done which I do not wish him to hear of who stands in His place. The visitor, then, must consider whether what is told him is told him simply and truly : if not, he must rebuke with severity, and contrive to have the truth told him through the prioress or the

<sup>9</sup> Ecclus. xix. 1. Qui spernit modica, paulatim decidet.



officers, or in some other way ; for, though the nuns may not have told him what is untrue, they may yet have hidden some things from him ; nor is it reasonable that he should not know everything who is the head, and under whose direction they are bound to live, for the body can hardly do anything that is good without the head, and that is what the nuns are doing when they hide from the visitor that which he ought to correct. I end with this : everything will go on well provided the constitutions are kept ; and if great care be not taken herein, and in the keeping of the rule, visitations will be of little use—for that is the meaning of them—unless the prioress be changed and even the nuns too, if that be the custom of the house, which God forbid, and other nuns he brought in who shall perfectly keep the rule—which is nothing less than making a new foundation in the house—and the community be dispersed among other monasteries, for one or two of them can do little harm in a community that is well governed.

23. It is to be observed that there may be prioresses who will ask leave to be at liberty to do certain things contrary to the constitutions, and who probably will give what they perhaps think sufficient reasons to justify them, because they know no better, or because they wish to make the superior understand it to be necessary. And, though what they ask may not be contrary to the constitutions, still it may be such as will work mischief if allowed, for as the visitor is not present on the spot, he does not know what evil results may follow, and we all of us overrate what we wish to have. The best course therefore is, not to open the door to anything unless it be in accordance with the present discipline, seeing that everything is going on well, as experience also tells us :

that which is certain is better than that which is doubtful.<sup>10</sup> In these cases the visitor must be firm, and he must not mind saying 'No,' but rather maintain that freedom and holy authority of which I spoke in the beginning, regardless of any pain or pleasure he may give either prioresses or nuns, about anything which in the course of time may lead to inconvenience ; and it is enough that it is a novelty not to make a beginning.

24. As to permission to admit nuns, it is very important the superior should not grant it before he receives a minute account of them, and if he should be in a place where he can make inquiries himself he ought to do so : for there may be prioresses so fond of admitting nuns as to be very easily satisfied, and when the prioress wills a thing, and says that she has made inquiries, her subjects almost always yield to her wishes ; and it may be that she is led by friendship for one, or by kinship, or by some other considerations, thinking she is doing right, while at the same time she is doing wrong.

25. Mistakes in admitting novices may be more easily corrected ; but the very greatest care is necessary in receiving their profession, and the superior, during his visitation, ought to ascertain if there be any novices, and how they behave themselves, that he may know, when the time is come for sanctioning their profession, whether it should be made or not. It is possible that the prioress may be fond of a novice, or have an interest in her, and

<sup>10</sup> On 21st February 1581 she thus writes to Fray Jerome of the Mother of God, about a fortnight before the chapter of Alcalá at which the constitutions of both friars and nuns were drawn up :—'I wish we had the constitutions printed, for they are not everywhere alike, and there are prioresses who, without thinking they are doing anything, add or omit what they please when they copy them. Let a clear decree be made, that no one is to add to them or take anything from them,' &c.

that the nuns her subjects dare not say what they think of her, but yet would tell the visitor ; it would be better, therefore, to delay the profession, if about to be made, till the superior makes his visitation, and for him, besides, if he should think it right, to bid them give their votes secretly, as at an election. So important is it that there shall be nothing in the house which shall be a life-long vexation and trouble, and every care taken to guard against it is well bestowed.

26. Great carefulness is necessary in admitting laysisters : almost all prioresses are very fond of having many lay sisters, burdening the houses with them, and sometimes with such as are able to do little or no work. It is, therefore, very necessary not to yield at once herein, unless he should see that there is a great want of them ; he, must also make inquiries concerning those who are already in the house, for great harm may come if great caution be not had, because there is no limit to the number of lay sisters.

27. In every house care must be taken not to fill up the number of the nuns ; but to leave room for more, for a nun may offer herself whom to receive would be good for the house, and that at a time when it cannot be done : the superior must never consent to allow the number to be exceeded on any account whatever, for that is to open the door to, and means nothing less than, the ruin of the monasteries. It is better, therefore, to hinder the gain of one than to do harm to all the others. A nun may be removed from her own house into a monastery that is not full, to make room for another ; and if she brought a dower with her, or any alms had been received with her, let it be given back to her, for she is going away for ever, and thus the difficulty will be met.

But, if this cannot be done, let the house lose what it may, but do not let us begin a practice so hurtful to everybody. It is necessary the superior should be told, when he is asked to allow a nun to be received, how many there are in the house, that he may judge of the fitness of doing so, for it is not reasonable to trust a matter of such importance to the prioresses.

28. It is necessary to ascertain whether the prioresses add to the obligations of the nuns, either in the matter of prayers or in their penances. It may happen that each prioress may add something at her own pleasure, of so special a nature, and be so severe in exacting it, that the nuns, overburdened, may lose their health, and be made thereby unable to discharge their real obligations. This is not meant as a prohibition of all additions, if on any particular day some special need should be felt ; some prioresses, however, may be so unwise as to make almost a habit of it, as it often happens, and the nuns dare not speak out, thinking, if they were to do so, that it would show them to have but little devotion : nor is it right they should speak to any one but the superiors.

29. The visitor must see to the office in choir, both the singing and the saying : he must inquire if the pauses be observed, and if the chanting be in a low tone, and edifying, as our profession requires—there being two inconveniences in singing in a high tone ; one is, that it does not sound well, as we do not sing in harmony ; the other is, that it destroys the modesty and spirit of our way of life. If this be not insisted on there will be of necessity disorder, and devotion will be ruined in those who listen : the singing should be that of persons given to mortification, rather than that of those who would be thought to sing well by people who hear them : that is now almost uni-

versal, and seemingly beyond redress, having become a custom : it is necessary, therefore, to insist strongly upon this.

30. It will be a great help if the visitor were to order one of the nuns in office, in the presence of the prioress, in virtue of obedience, to write to him whenever the latter fails in any of the important matters he may have charged her to observe ; and the prioress should be made to understand that the nun must not fail to do so. This will have the effect of the presence of the visitor in some degree, and the prioress will be more watchful and cautious about giving way on any point.

31. It will be well, before entering on the visitations, to explain very distinctly how wrong it is for prioresses to entertain a dislike for those sisters who tell the visitor of the faults they may observe : though the faults may not really be what they think they are, they are bound in conscience to speak of them ; and, in a house where life is one of mortification, the doing of this should be pleasing to a prioress, because it enables her the better to discharge her office and to serve God ; but if it causes her to be vexed with the nuns it is a certain sign that she is not fit to govern them, for they will not dare to speak another time, seeing that the visitor goes away while they remain in their trouble themselves, and all the discipline of the house will be weakened. He must not trust the sanctity of the prioress, whatever it may be, as a reason for omitting to warn the sisters of this, for we are naturally inclined to evil, and the enemy, when he has nothing else to lay hold of, will lay his hands upon us here, and perhaps gain what he may be losing in other ways.

32. It is necessary that the visitor should keep all he



hears profoundly secret, and that the prioress should not know who has given him his information ; because, as I have said before, they are still in this world, and, if secrecy does nothing else, it removes certain temptations ; much more, then, is it necessary when such knowledge can do great harm.

33. If the things told of the prioress be unimportant, she may be cautioned about them indirectly, without letting her feel that the nuns have spoken of them ; the more she can be made to think that they had nothing to say, the better. But if the things are important it is of more consequence to redress them than to please her.

34. The visitor must ascertain if any money is received by the prioress of which the keepers of the keys have no knowledge. This is a matter of great consequence, for a prioress may keep it without thinking of it, and she may possess nothing at any time otherwise than as the constitutions direct. This must be looked to also in the houses founded in poverty. I think I have spoken of this before,<sup>11</sup> and there may be other things said in the same place to the same effect ; but, as it was some time ago, I have forgotten it, and I cannot go back to read what I have written.

35. It is a heavy burden for the visitor to attend to all these little things, but he will have a heavier burden to bear when he shall see the state of the nuns if it be not done ; for, as I said before,<sup>12</sup> let the prioress be ever so saintly, it must be done. What is necessary above all things in the government of women, as I said in the beginning,<sup>13</sup> is that they must feel they have one who is above them—one who will not be moved by any con-

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps the Saint was thinking of what she had said in § 12.

<sup>12</sup> See § 31.

<sup>13</sup> See § 4.

sideration whatever, but who himself keeps, and compels others to keep, all religious observances, punishes those who do not, and sees that it is done with special carefulness in every house—one who not only must visit them every year, but who must also know what they are doing each day. If this be done the nuns will grow in perfection more and more, and will not go back, for women in general are reverent and timid. All this will have a great effect in keeping them from becoming careless; and now and then, whenever necessary, not only is this to be told them, but also acted upon, for they will all take warning if one be punished. If at first, when faults are few, the visitor should, out of tenderness or on some other ground, act otherwise, he will be forced later on to proceed with greater severity, and his tenderness will become the most grievous cruelty, and the account he will have to give to God our Lord will be very heavy.<sup>14</sup>

36. There are nuns whose simplicity is so great that they think it very wrong to tell the faults of the prioress in matters which should be corrected: though they may regard that telling as something mean, they must be reminded of their duty, and they must also humbly warn the prioress beforehand if they see her about to fail in the observance of the constitutions or in any important matter, for it may be that she is not aware of it. These very nuns, although they may have told the prioress she might do what she is doing amiss, will accuse her of that at a later time when discontented with her. There prevails great ignorance as to that which ought to be done during a visitation, and therefore is it necessary that the visitor should continue to advise and teach them with discretion.

37. It is highly necessary that the visitor should make

<sup>14</sup> See § 4, above.

inquiries about the confessor, not of one nun nor of two, but of all, and about his influence in the house ; for, as he is not and ought not to be the vicar, and as the office of vicar is withheld from him that he may not govern the nuns, it is necessary that all communication with him should be under great restraints, and the less it is the better.<sup>15</sup> Great caution must be observed in making presents and giving entertainments to him, unless very slight, though now and then something of the kind becomes unavoidable. Let them pay him more than the salary of the chaplaincy rather than be subject to anxiety, for there are many inconveniences herein.

38. It is also necessary to warn the prioresses not to be prodigal and wasteful ; they must remember that they are bound to watch over the expenditure of the house, for they are no more than stewards : they must spend nothing as if it were their own, and they must be reasonable and cautious, and be careful that there is nothing wasted ; for, setting aside the obligation they are under not to give scandal, they are also bound to this in conscience, and to watch over the temporals of their house, and to have nothing of their own more than any of the rest, unless it be the key of a drawer or a writing-desk for keeping papers in—I mean by that letters, and especially instructions given by the superior, it being but reasonable that these things, or others of the kind, should not be seen by everybody.

39. The visitor must see whether the habit and the headgear are worn according to the constitutions ; and if there should be anything at any time—which God forbid—that seems fine or not quite edifying, he must have it burnt in his presence ; for an act of this sort makes them

<sup>15</sup> See *Way of Perfection*, ch. v. 4.

afraid, they correct themselves at once, and remember it for the good of those who are to come after them.

40. He must also regard their way of talking, which should be simple, plain, and religious, like that of hermits, and of persons who have left the world without using novel expressions—niceties of speech, I think they call them—as is done in the world, where there is always some novelty. Let them prefer common expressions to those which are more refined.

41. The sisters must avoid lawsuits as much as possible, and go to law only when they cannot help it; for our Lord will give them in another way what they may lose by yielding. The visitor must lead them to do that which is the most perfect, and command them to be neither plaintiffs nor defendants without the knowledge of the superior, and without a special order from him.

42. And, as to the novices to be admitted, the visitor is to persevere in reminding the prioresses that they must look more to their gifts than to any dowry they may bring with them, and accept none for any consideration whatsoever otherwise than as the constitutions direct, and that more especially if they have any faults of character.

43. It is necessary to carry on what is now done by the superior whom our Lord has given us—I speak to those who shall come after him—from whom I have learned much of what I have said by observing his visitations, especially on this point; he must not be more intimate with one sister than with another, nor be alone with nor write to any one, but, as a true father, show the same affection for all; for the day when in any monastery he shall show a particular affection for a sister, though it be like that of S. Jerome and S. Paula, he shall not escape detraction any more than they did; and he will wrong

not only that house, but every house of the order, for Satan will at once publish it abroad that he may gain something by it, and the world, because of our sins, is so lost to shame in this matter that many inconveniences will ensue, as we see at this time. The visitor on that account is less respected, and that general affection, if he is what he ought to be, which all should bear him always, and which they bear him now, is lost, for the nuns will think that he gives all his affection to one only ; and it is a great advantage to be very much loved by them all. This is not meant of that showing of affection which may be occasionally necessary, but of an affection which is notorious and excessive.

44. When the visitor enters the house—I mean the monasteries—he must look to the observance of enclosure ; this he must always do, and carefully inspect the whole house, as I said before : <sup>16</sup> he must go through it, having his companion always by his side, with the prioress and some of the other nuns ; and he must not on any account whatever, even if he be there early, remain for dinner within the monastery, though the nuns might press him to do so ; let him regard that for which he has come, and then depart forthwith. If he has anything to say, he had better say it at the grating ; for, though that may be done in all honesty and simplicity, yet is it a preparing the way for some one perhaps, at a future time, to whom no such liberty ought to be given, and who may take more. May it please our Lord never to suffer it, and that all things tending to edification and everything else be ever done as they are done now. Amen ! Amen !

45. The visitor must not allow any excess in the food they provide him on the days he is making the visitation,

<sup>16</sup> See § 14.



accepting nothing but that which is fitting ; and if he sees anything wrong he must rebuke them severely for it, because it is unbecoming the profession of the superiors, which is poverty, and that of the nuns as well : there is no good whatever in it, for they eat only what is sufficient for them, and it does not minister that edification which becometh nuns.

46. For the present nothing can be done, I believe, because the superior we have, even if there be any excess, does not observe whether what they give him is much or little, good or bad, and I do not know that he could observe it unless he were to give special heed to the matter. He regards it as of the most serious import that he who makes the inquiry should be alone—without his companion—because he will not have him know the faults of the nuns, if faults there be : it is an admirable plan to keep the follies of nuns from being known, and if they do fall into any—at present, to God be the glory, they will not do much harm, for the visitor regards them with the eyes of a father, and as a father keeps it secret, and, because he is standing in the place of God, God reveals to him the degree of gravity of the faults. Any other than such as he is will perhaps think that to be serious which is but a trifle, and, as it does not concern him personally, he will not care to be silent about it, and the monastery loses its good name without cause. May our Lord grant our superiors the grace always to consider this, and always to act in the same way.

47. It is not right in the visitor to show that he has a great affection for the prioress, or that he has a good understanding with her, at least in the presence of the community, for that will cow the nuns, and they will not dare to tell him of her faults. He must also keep well

in mind that it is necessary they should feel that he will make no excuses for her, but correct whatever there may be in need of correction. But no discouragement can reach the soul which has a zeal for God and for the order : when such a soul is distressed at the sight of the order falling away, and is waiting for a superior who shall come to its succour, and yet sees matters continue in the same way, it turns towards God, and resolves to be silent for the future—seeing how little good has been done by speaking—even though everything should fall to ruin. The poor nuns are listened to but once, when summoned by the visitor ; and the prioresses have time enough to make excuses for, and give explanations of, their shortcomings, and of lessening the number of them, and perhaps of creating some suspicion that the nun who has made the complaint was moved by passion ; for, though they are not told who she was, they almost always find her out, and the visitor cannot be a witness of what is going on, and the explanations are given in such a way as to make him think it impossible to reject them, and thus everything remains as before, for if he could be an eye-witness within the house for many days he would ascertain the truth : the prioresses never imagine that they are not telling it, but such is our self-love that we very rarely accept the blame or know ourselves.

48. This has often happened to me, and with prioresses who were very great servants of God, in whom I had such trust that it seemed to me impossible for things to be otherwise than as they represented them. But when I remained some days in the house I was amazed to see everything so different from the account they gave me, and that in a matter of some importance. I have been told that the complaints were the effect of temper, and

almost half the community agreed in that, and yet it was the prioress who did not know herself, as she afterwards came to understand. I believe, myself, that Satan, not having many opportunities of tempting the sisters, tempts the prioress in some things to think differently from the rest ; and it is a cause of thanksgiving to our Lord to see the way they bear it all. Accordingly, I have made up my mind never to trust any one before I have made inquiries enough, that I may make her who is thus deceived feel that she is deceived ; for if that be not done what is wrong can hardly be set right.

49. All this does not take place in grave matters, but out of them great evils may arise if we do not proceed with caution. I am amazed when I consider the cunning of Satan—how he makes every one think she is telling the greatest truth in the world : that is why I said that the prioress is not to be altogether trusted, nor any one of the nuns either, but inquiries should be made of many, if the matter be of importance, in order that a certain remedy might be provided. May our Lord send us always a visitor who is wise and holy, such an one His Majesty will enlighten, so that he shall understand us and make no mistakes, for so shall every monastery be governed in the best way, and souls grow in perfection, to the honour and glory of God.

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I entreat you, my father, in return for the mortification which the writing of this has been to me, to mortify yourself by writing certain instructions for the visitors. If in this anything has been done as it ought to have been done, it may be put into better order, and will be of

service ; for I shall now begin the end of the Foundations,<sup>17</sup> and it may have a place there, for it will be very useful. I am afraid, however, that there never will be another so humble as he by whose commandment I write, who will be willing to make use of it. However, it is God's will, and I could do no less, for if these houses are visited in the way usual in the order very little good will come of it, and it may be that the harm will be greater than the good. Inquiries still more minute must be made, of which I have not spoken, because I do not understand it all, and because now I cannot remember ; but the greatest care will be necessary only at the beginning, for if the nuns see that the visitation is to be thus exact there will be no great trouble in the government of the house. May you, my father, do what you can to carry into execution these instructions, as you are doing at present in your visitations ; for our Lord will supply the rest in His compassion, and through the merits of the sisters, seeing that their object throughout is to render Him true service, and for that end to be instructed.

<sup>17</sup> This paper is generally inserted among the letters of the Saint, and as she says that she is about to begin the 'end of the Foundations' it has been placed among those of March or April 1582, but it was more probably written in August or September 1576. At that time there remained indeed several chapters to be added to that work (see *supra*, ch. xxvii. 21) but as the series of foundations had been interrupted by the troubles which had overtaken the Reform Saint Teresa could not foresee that at a later period more convents would be founded, necessitating the addition of other chapters with a happier conclusion to her book.

## THE CARMELITE RULE

RULE OF THE ORDER OF OUR LADY OF MOUNT  
CARMEL

1. Election of prioress.—2. Houses.—3. Cells and refectory.—4. Cell of the prioress.—5. Prayer.—6. The divine office.—7. Possessions.—8. Oratory.—9. Chapter.—10. Fasts.—11. Flesh meat allowed at times.—12. Everything to be done for God.—13. Avoid idleness.—14. Silence.—15. Humility.—16. Reverence for superiors.—17. Discretion:

INNOCENT,<sup>1</sup> bishop, servant of the servants of God, to  
His beloved children the prior and brethren,  
hermits of blessed Mary of Mount Carmel,  
health and the apostolic blessing.

Whatever is for the honour of the Creator of all things, and for the profit of souls, is to be upheld by the might of perpetual strength, especially that over which the authority of the Apostolic See exerts its salutary providence. Inasmuch as we, at your earnest prayer, have caused, by our beloved son Hugh, cardinal priest of Santa Sabina, and our venerable brother William, bishop of

<sup>1</sup> Bullarium Carmelitanum, Rome 1715, t. 1, p. 7. The primitive rule given by Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, who was murdered in 1214, was confirmed by Honorius III in the year 1226. Two friars of the order, Reginald and Peter, were instructed to beg Innocent IV, in 1247, to make certain corrections and mitigations of the rule. The Pope commissioned Hugh of S. Cher, cardinal of Santa Sabina and the bishop of Tortosa, both Dominicans, to make the corrections required, as may be seen in his letters of confirmation. In 1432 Eugenius IV mitigated the rule again, and the rule as explained by him was in force when S. Teresa made her profession in the monastery of the Incarnation.



Tortosa, certain matters in your rule which were doubtful to be explained and corrected, and also certain austerities therein prescribed of our compassion to be mitigated, as is more fully set forth in the letters on that occasion issued : We, consenting to your pious desires, do by our Apostolic authority confirm, and by the protection of these letters maintain, the explanation, mitigation, and correction aforesaid, the contents of which letters we have caused to be inserted word for word in these present letters, and they are as follows :—

Friar Hugh, by the Divine compassion cardinal priest of Santa Sabina, and friar William, by the same compassion bishop of Tortosa, to our most dearly beloved in Christ the prior-general and the definitors of the general chapter of the order of the friars of blessed Mary of Mount Carmel, health in the Health of all.

Two clerics, friars of your order, Reginald and Peter, have on your behalf had recourse to the Apostolic See, humbly begging our lord the Pope graciously to explain and correct certain matters of your rule formerly delivered unto you by Albert, of happy memory, patriarch of Jerusalem, and at the same time to mitigate certain austerities therein prescribed : and our lord the Pope having heard their devout supplication, and having commissioned us as his delegates to make such explanation, correction, and mitigation as we might judge to be for the good estate of the order and the salvation of the friars : We command you, in virtue of that authority wherewith we are clothed, to receive devoutly and to observe carefully the rule corrected, explained, and mitigated by us according to our judgment, and to correct all your other rules by this which we send you by the same friars in this form :—

THE RULE OF THE NUNS SANCTIONED FOR THOSE OF THE  
MONASTERY OF THE PICTURE<sup>2</sup> AT ALCALÁ

Albert, by the grace of God patriarch of Jerusalem, to our beloved children in Christ, Brocard and the other brethren, hermits, who live under his obedience by the well of Elias on Mount Carmel, health in Jesus Christ, and the blessing of the Holy Ghost.

The holy fathers have taught in many ways and by divers methods how every one, in whatever order or institute he may be, or whatever kind of religious life he may have chosen, has to live and maintain the true obedience of Jesus Christ, and how to serve Him faithfully with a pure heart and a good conscience ; but, considering that you ask us to give you a certain rule and way of life, in accordance with your intentions, which you are to keep and observe in all time to come—

OF THE THREE VOWS, AND THE ELECTION OF A PRIORESS

1. We decree and ordain, in the first place, that you have one of yourselves as prioress, chosen for that office by common consent, either with the goodwill of all or of

<sup>2</sup> This rubric, with the others, is of course not to be found in the rule as sanctioned by Innocent IV, which was drawn up for men. The changes in the language rendered necessary by its application to religious women may have been made by the Saint. The Monastery of the Picture was that founded by Maria of Jesus, mentioned in the *Life*, ch. xxxv. 1 ; and ch. xxxvi. 29. It is called the Monastery of the Picture of the Immaculate Conception, to distinguish it from the monastery founded in the same city of the nuns of S. Teresa in 1599, which is called the Monastery of Corpus Christi (*Reforma*, bk. i. ch. lvi. 6, 8).

the greater number of you, or of the more discreet, unto whom the others, every one of you, shall promise obedience, and when you have made the promise you shall keep it in word and deed, [observing chastity and poverty, also under the same conditions].<sup>3</sup>

2. [You may have sites and places in the deserts, or wheresoever they may be given you, fitting and proper for the observance of your rule].

3. [Each of you shall have her own cell in the place wherein you shall have made up your minds to dwell, separated and apart each from the other, as it shall have been assigned you by the prioress and the community, or by the greater part thereof; but whatever may be given you as alms for your support you shall take ordinarily in the refectory, while some part of the Holy Writings are read, and] none of the sisters may change the place and cell assigned her, or make an exchange with another, without leave from the prioress for the time being.

4. The cell of the mother prioress shall be near the entrance into the monastery, in order that she may be the first to receive those who come in, and that everything done in the house may be according to her order and judgment.

5. The sisters shall be always in their cells, or near them, meditating and occupying their thoughts day and night in the law of God, and watching in prayer, unless otherwise employed in just and reasonable duties, and the recitation of the divine office.

6. Those who are able to say the office shall say it in the form prescribed in the rules and ordinances of the holy fathers, and according to the custom sanctioned by

<sup>3</sup> The clauses placed between [ ] were not expressed in the rule given by the patriarch Albert but were inserted by the revisers in 1247.

the rule. Those who cannot say it shall say instead of matins the *paternoster* twenty-five times, except on Sundays and other holy days of obligation, when it must be doubled—that is, they must say the *paternoster* fifty times ; instead of lauds they shall say it seven times, and seven times for every other hour, except vespers, when they shall say it fifteen times.

#### OF OWNING NOTHING

7. No sister shall have anything of her own, but everything shall be in common ; and let every sister have what she requires given her through the hands of the prioress [or of her who takes her place], the age and necessities of each sister being most carefully considered.

[But we readily allow you to have in common cattle and poultry for your maintenance according to your wants.]

8. In the midst of the cells shall be built an oratory or chapel, in the best and most convenient form possible, wherein you shall assemble every morning for prayer when it can be conveniently done.

9. On Sundays, or on other days, whenever necessary, you shall consult about the keeping of your order<sup>4</sup> and the salvation of souls : then also the faults and excesses of the sisters, if any be discovered, shall be charitably corrected.

10. You shall fast daily, Sundays excepted, from the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross to the day of our Lord's rising again, unless illness or weakness, or some

<sup>4</sup> La guarda de vuestra orden: Thomas of Jesus, in his commentary on the rule, explains it thus : *Ordinis vero custodia nihil aliud sonat quam observantiam et disciplinam regularem reficere.* The expression is to be found in the *Way of Perfection*, ch. x. 4.

other good reasons, move you to break the fast, for necessity has no law.<sup>5</sup>

11. You shall eat no flesh unless it be for relief of [sickness or] weakness, or when you are on a pilgrimage or on a journey—for it is often necessary for you to beg ; that you may not be a burden to your hosts, when you are away from your own houses you may have meat soup with green herbs therein, and in the same way, at sea, when making a voyage, you may eat flesh. And as the life of man upon earth is a continual temptation,<sup>6</sup> and all who will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution,<sup>7</sup> because our adversary the devil, roaring as a lion, goeth about seeking whom to devour,<sup>8</sup> you must in all carefulness strive to put on the armour of God, that you may be able to withstand the deceits of the devil ;<sup>9</sup> you must gird your loins with the girdle of chastity ;<sup>10</sup> you must strengthen your hearts with holy thoughts, for it is written, ‘a holy thought will be thy safeguard ;’<sup>11</sup> you must put on the breastplate of justice,<sup>12</sup> that with your whole heart, and your whole soul, and your whole mind,

<sup>5</sup> This paragraph in the copy of Don Vicente de la Fuente was placed at the end of § 3, but we placed it here that it might occupy the place corresponding with the same clause in the rule of the friars.

<sup>6</sup> Job vii. 1 : Militia est vita hominis super terram.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Tim. iii. 12 : Et omnes qui pie volunt vivere in Christo Jesu persecutionem patientur.

<sup>8</sup> 1 S. Pet. v. 8 : Quia adversarius vester diabolus, tamquam leo rugiens, circuit quærens quem devoret.

<sup>9</sup> Ephes. vi. 2 : Induite vos armaturam Dei, ut possitis stare adversus insidias diaboli.

<sup>10</sup> S. Luc. xii. 35 : Sint lumbi vestri præcincti. Ephes. vi. 14. State ergo succincti lumbos vestros in veritate.

<sup>11</sup> Prov. ii. 11 : Prudentia servabit te. The words of the rule, however, are, Cogitatio sancta servabit te, which is a translation, as also in the quotation from Job, note 6, of the version of the LXX, *ἐννοια δὲ ὅσα τηρήσει σε*.

<sup>12</sup> Ephes. vi. 14 : Induti lorica[m] justitiæ.



and your whole strength, you may love the Lord your God and your neighbour as yourselves ;<sup>13</sup> you must always take the shield of the faith, with which you may be able to quench all the fiery arrows of the hellish foe,<sup>14</sup> because it is impossible to please God without faith.<sup>15</sup> You must also put on the helmet of salvation,<sup>16</sup> that you may hope for salvation from our Saviour only, who has saved His people, and delivered them from the prison-house of their sins.

12. Let the sword of the Holy Ghost, that is, the word of God, dwell and abide for ever in your mouths and hearts, and, whatever you may have to do, let it be always done in the name and the power of the word of God.

13. You shall always have some work to do, that the devil may ever find you busy, and be unable to enter in through your idleness to tempt you ; and herein you have the blessed S. Paul both as instruction and example, by whose mouth spoke Jesus Christ, and whom God set up as the teacher and preacher of the nations in faith and truth, whom if you follow you cannot go astray. 'We were among you in toil and labour, working night and day that we might be a trouble or a burden to none among you—not that we had not authority and power for that end, but that we might give you in your conversation an example and pattern, so that you might follow in our way : for when we were with you, and conversed among you, we told you this and taught it that if there be any one that

<sup>13</sup> S. Marc. xii. 30 : Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex totâ animâ tuâ, et ex totâ mente tuâ et ex totâ virtute tuâ.

<sup>14</sup> Ephes. vi. 16 : In omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguerè.

<sup>15</sup> Hebr. xi. 6 : Sine fide autem impossibile est placere Deo.

<sup>16</sup> Ephes. vi. 17 : Et galeam salutis assumite.

will not work he may not eat ; for we hear and understand that there are some among you who are lazy and wicked, without any occupation or employment ; now these, and all those who thus live and act, we warn and entreat, in Jesus Christ our Lord, to work in silence, and eat their own bread : ' <sup>17</sup> this is the good and holy road : walk ye therein. The apostle recommends silence when he bids us work in silence ; and to the same effect one of the prophets has said, the 'adornment of justice is silence,' <sup>18</sup> and in another place, 'in silence and in hope shall your strength be.' <sup>19</sup>

14. We, therefore, ordain that you keep silence [from the end of compline to the end of prime on the following day] : during the rest of the time, though the observance of silence is not so strictly enjoined, still you must be very careful and watchful, that you may avoid much talking ; for, as it is written and experience shows, 'in much talking there shall be no lack of sin,' <sup>20</sup> and 'he who is thoughtless in his speech shall suffer much evil,' <sup>21</sup> and, in another place, 'he who useth many words does it to the ruin of his soul.' <sup>22</sup> And our Lord in the Gospel saith, of every idle word that men shall speak, that they

<sup>17</sup> 2 Thessal. iii. 8-12 : In labore et in fatigatione, nocte et die operantes, ne quem vestrum gravaremus. Non quasi non habuerimus potestatem, sed ut nosmetipsos formam daremus vobis ad imitandum nos. Nam et cum essemus apud vos, hoc denunciabamus vobis, quoniam si quis non vult operari nec manducet. Audivimus enim inter vos quosdam ambulare inquiete, nihil operantes, sed curiose agentes. Iis autem qui ejusmodi sunt, denunciamus et obsecramus in Domino Jesu Christo, ut cum silentio operantes suum panem manducent.

<sup>18</sup> Isai. xxxii. 17 : Cultus justitiæ silentium.

<sup>19</sup> Id. xxx. 15 : In silentio et in spe erit fortitudo vestra.

<sup>20</sup> Prov. x. 19 : In multiloquio non deerit peccatum.

<sup>21</sup> Id. xiii. 3 : Qui autem inconsideratus est ad loquendum, sentiet mala.

<sup>22</sup> Ecclus. xx. 8 : Qui multis utitur verbis lædet animam suam.

shall give an account of it in the day of judgment :<sup>23</sup> 'make, therefore, every one of you, a balance for your words, and a most strong bridle for your mouth, that you may not make a slip with the tongue, and fall, and your fall be incurable unto death :'<sup>24</sup> with the prophet, keep your ways, that you may not sin with the tongue ;<sup>25</sup> keep a careful ward and watch over yourselves in silence, which is the crown and adornment of justice, as well as its safeguard.

15. And thou, brother Brocard, and whosoever shall be chosen after thee into the office of prior, keep in mind and observe that which our Lord says in the Gospel—'Whosoever will be greater among you, let him be your minister ; and he who will be first, let him be your servant.'<sup>26</sup>

16. And do you, also, the rest of the sisters, honour the prioress in all humility, looking unto Christ—who has given her to you to be your superior, and has set her over you—rather than unto her ; seeing that Christ himself said to superiors, 'he who hears you hears me, and he who despiseth you despiseth me ;'<sup>27</sup> that you may never be condemned for contempt, but rather by your obedience merit the wages of the everlasting payment.

17. We have written briefly, ordaining and appointing

<sup>23</sup> S. Matth. xii. 36 : Quoniam omne verbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines reddent rationem de eo in die iudicii.

<sup>24</sup> Ecclus. xxviii. 29, 30 : Verbis tuis facito stateram, et frenos ori tuo rectos : et attende ne forte labaris in linguâ, et cadas in conspectu inimicorum insidiantum tibi, et sit casus tuus insanabilis in mortem.

<sup>25</sup> Ps. xxxviii. 1. Custodiam vias meas, ut non delinquam in linguâ meâ.

<sup>26</sup> S. Matth. xx. 26, 27. Quicumque voluerit inter vos major fieri, sit vester minister. Et qui voluerit inter vos primus esse, erit vester servus.

<sup>27</sup> S. Luc. x. 16. Qui vos audit, me audit, et qui vos spernit, me spernit,

a certain order and way of life, which you are bound to observe, and according to which you are bound to live. But if any one shall do more than is enjoined in the rule, our Lord when He cometh will repay him ; but let such an one use discretion, for that is the ruler of virtues.

Given at Lyons, in the year of our Lord 1248, in the fifth year of the pontificate of Innocent IV, Pope, on the first day of September.<sup>28</sup>

This our deed of confirmation none may violate or rashly transgress in any way whatever ; and if any one shall dare to do so, let him know that he thereby incurs the wrath of Almighty God, and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at Lyons, October 1, in the fifth year of our pontificate.

<sup>28</sup> The first of September and of October of the fifth year of Innocent IV correspond to 1247 not 1248 as is frequently, though erroneously, stated.

## THE CONSTITUTIONS

CONSTITUTIONS FOR THE SISTERS OF THE ORDER OF OUR LADY OF MOUNT CARMEL OF THE PRIMITIVE RULE UNRELAXED, GIVEN BY THE MOST REVEREND FATHER FRAY JUAN BAUTISTA RUBEO, GENERAL OF THE SAID ORDER, IN THE YEAR 1568.<sup>1</sup>

1. The divine office.—2. Rising and chanting.—3. Communion.—4. Vespers.—5. Compline.—6. Spiritual reading.—7. Books.—8. Solitude.—9. Maintenance of the sisters.—10. All ownership forbidden.—11. The habit.—12. Furniture of the house.—13. Enclosure and visitors.—14. Visits.—15. The attendant sister.—16. Kindred.—17. Novices.—18. Poverty.—19. Lay sisters.—20. Service of the house.—21. Special needs.—22. The infirmary.—23. Work done by the sisters.—24. Alms received in the day.—25. Meals.—26. No food to be taken between meals.—27. Recreation.—28. Rest after recreation.—29. Particular friendships.—30. Correction of faults.—31. Gifts.—32. Simplicity.—33. Penances.—34. The monastery to be poorly built.—35. The sick and the dead.—36. Of the prioress.—37. The sub-prioress and the keepers of the keys.—38. The sacristan.—39. The treasurer and the portresses.—40. Zelators.—41. Mistress of novices.—42. Manifestation of the interior state.—43. The prioress may be mistress of novices.—44. Hours of prayer.—45. Alms.—46. Chapter of faults.—47. Accusation of others.—48. Correction of faults.—49. Of slight faults.—50. Of graver faults.—51. Of grievous faults.—52. Of the more grievous faults.—53. Modes of correction.—54. Rebellion.—55. The constitutions.—56. Discipline:

## THE ORDER TO BE OBSERVED IN SPIRITUALS

- I. LET matins be said after nine o'clock, and not before, nor so long after as not to leave when they shall

<sup>1</sup> The father-general never had any jurisdiction in or over the monastery of the Conception in Alcalá, which Maria of Jesus had founded, and could not therefore give it any constitutions. The inscription, then, shows that the constitutions which S. Teresa gave the monastery, at the request of the nuns, were copied literally from those which the Saint took with her to Pastrana (*Foundations*, ch. xvii. 3). The Saint, ch. iii. 17, makes mention of these constitutions as being in force in Avila and Medina.



have been said a quarter of an hour for the examen of conscience touching the spending of the day. A signal shall be given for the examen, and one of the sisters, appointed by the mother prioress, shall read in Spanish the mystery on which the meditation is to be made the next day.<sup>2</sup> The time to be spent herein shall be such that precisely at eleven o'clock a bell shall be rung, and the nuns shall withdraw for the night's rest. All the nuns must be together in choir during the time of the examen and prayer, and once the office begun no sister may go out of the choir without leave.

2. In summer they are to rise at five, and continue in prayer till six ; in winter at six, and continue in prayer till seven. When prayer is over the office is to be said as far as None, unless it be a holy day, or the festival of a saint to whom the sisters have a special devotion ; then they will stop at Terce, which they will sing before the mass. On Sundays and holy days mass, vespers, and matins are to be sung ; on the holy days of Easter, or other solemn feasts, lauds may be sung, especially on the feast of the glorious S. Albert. The singing must never be in harmony, but in unison, the voices even ; ordinarily the office is to be said, so also the mass, for our Lord will be pleased to let us have a little time to earn what is necessary for us. Let every one be careful never to be absent from choir for light causes : when the office has been said let them go to their duties in the house. Mass is to be said in summer at eight, in winter at nine. They who go to communion may remain awhile in the choir.

<sup>2</sup> The chronicler of the order (*Reforma*, bk. i. ch. l. 6) says that this was changed at a later time, experience having shown it to be better to read the points of meditation, not the night before, but immediately before prayer.

3. The days of communion are all Sundays, the feasts of our Lady and of our Lord, of S. Albert and of S. Joseph, and whatever other days the confessor may think meet, according to the devotion and spiritual state of each sister, with the leave of the mother prioress. Communion is to be given also on the feast-day of the house. Shortly before dinner signal shall be made for the examen of conscience touching what they have been doing up to that time, and the gravest fault they may discover let them try to correct, and say one *paternoster* to obtain grace from God for that end. Wherever each one may be at the time, let her kneel down and make her examen briefly.<sup>3</sup>

4. At two o'clock vespers are to be said, unless it be Lent, when they are to be said at eleven : at the end of vespers, when said at two o'clock, let there be spiritual reading for an hour. In Lent the hour of spiritual reading is two o'clock, and it is understood that the bell rings for vespers at two. The vespers being those of a feast, the hour of spiritual reading must be after compline.

5. Compline in summer is to be said at six o'clock in winter at five. At eight, both in summer and winter, let the signal be given for silence, which must be kept strictly till after prime of the following day : at all other times no sister may speak to another without leave, except those who are in office, and then only when necessary. The prioress grants leave to speak when she thinks it will serve to quicken more and more the love of the Bridegroom. If a sister, being in trouble or temptation, speaks to another in order to receive consolation from her, she may do so: the prohibition does not extend to a word, a

<sup>3</sup> The chronicler, *ut supra*, says that this was also changed by the reformers of the constitutions, and that the nuns were to make their examen in the choir, and not in their cells or elsewhere.

question, or an answer, for so much may be done without leave.

6. The signal for prayer is to be given an hour before matins : during this hour of prayer they may read a spiritual book, beside the other hour so to be spent after vespers : if they find they have the spiritual strength to spend that hour in prayer, let them do so if they see it contributes the more to recollection.

7. Let the mother prioress see that they have good books<sup>4</sup>—the Carthusian, *Flos Sanctorum*, *Contemptus Mundi* the Oratory of Religious, Fray Luis of Granada, or

<sup>4</sup> Mary of S. Francis, a Carmelite of Medina, in the depositions she made to the process of the Saint, says that the books she used to read were the *Morals of S. Gregory*, the writings of the Carthusian, the *Abecedario* of Francisco de Osuna, *The Ascent of Mount Sion*, the works of Luis of Granada, *The Art of Serving God*, and the *Contemptus Mundi*. The Carthusian is Ludolf of Saxony, about whose *Life of Christ* see *Life*, ch. xxxviii. 2, note 6 ; *Flos Sanctorum* is the Spanish name of the *Legenda Aurea*. There were two versions of the work, the first called *Vitae Patrum*, of which editions appeared in 1498, 1511, 1538, and 1553, one or other of which was known to and utilised by S. Teresa, but the work was put on the Index of 1559 and is therefore not mentioned among the books to be placed at the disposal of the nuns. The other version bears the title *Flos Sanctorum* of which four editions are known to have existed, namely one the date of which is not on record, one of 1511, another of 1521 and one of about the middle of the sixteenth century ; *Contemptus Mundi* is the titles of the Imitation of Christ (see *Way of Perfection*, ch. xi. 3). The *Oratory of Religious*, by Antonio de Guevara, appeared first at Valladolid in 1542, and again at Saragossa in the following year, at Valladolid in 1567, and later on, after the publication of the Constitutions, at Salamanca and Medina del Campo. The books of Fray Luis de Granada are probably the *Guide of Sinners* and the *Book on Prayer*. On the writings of S. Peter of Alcantara see *Life*, ch. xxx. 6. For the works mentioned by Mary of S. Francis see the notes to the *Life of S. Teresa*, namely on the *Moralia* of S. Gregory the Great, ch. x. 16 ; the *Abecedario* of Francisco de Osuna, ch. iv. 8 ; the *Ascent of Mount Sion* by Bernardino de Laredo, ch. xxiii. 13 ; the *Art of Serving God* by Alonso de Madrid, ch. xii. 2. See A. Morel-Fatio, *Les lectures de Sainte Thérèse*, Bulletin Hispanique, Bordeaux and Paris, January—March 1908.

Fray Peter of Alcantara ; for this nourishment is in part as necessary for the soul as food is for the body. Every sister must remain, the whole time she is not present with the community, or discharging the duties of her office, either in her cell or in the hermitage which the prioress shall have assigned her as the place of her retreat, doing some work there, except on the holy days ; and in the loneliness of this retreat, fulfilling that which the rule enjoins, every sister shall be alone.<sup>5</sup>

8. No sister may go into the cell of another without the leave of the prioress.

#### OF TEMPORALS

9. They must always live on alms, having no revenues whatever ; and so long as they can bear it there must be no begging ; but they may provide for themselves by the work of their hands, as S. Paul did ;<sup>6</sup> for our Lord will furnish them with what is necessary, if they do not ask for more, and are satisfied without comforts ; He will not fail them, and they will be able to support life ; if they labour with all their might to please our Lord His Majesty will take care that they shall want nothing. They will earn their bread, not by any fine work but by spinning—not by anything that requires great skill, lest it should occupy their thoughts and withdraw them from our Lord ; they must not work in gold or silver, and they must not bargain about the price, but accept at once what may be offered, and if they find that work unprofitable let them take up some other work.

10. The sisters may not have anything as their own in

<sup>5</sup> See § 3 of the Rule.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Thessal. iii. 8. Nocte ac die operantes ne quem vestrum gravaremus.

any way whatever, nor is that ever to be allowed them, either for their food or their clothing ; they may not have a box or dish or drawer or cupboard, unless they have some office in the community : nothing is to be the property of any one separately, and everything must be in common. This is of grave importance, for it is by little things the devil is enabled to enter and destroy the perfection of poverty : the prioress therefore must be very careful, should a sister be attached to anything, whether it be a book or cell or anything else, to take it away from her.

11. They must keep a fast from the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, in September, till Easter Day, Sundays excepted. They are never to eat meat except in cases of necessity, according to the rule.<sup>7</sup> The habit is to be of frieze or some coarse cloth, dark in colour, without any ornament ; and as little stuff as possible is to be used in it, with sleeves, not large, nor wider at the wrists than at the shoulder ; it must be without plaits, round, not longer behind than in front, and reaching to the feet. The scapular is to be made of the same stuff, but shorter than the habit by four inches ; the mantle to be worn in choir is to be of the same material, white in colour, of the same length with the scapular, and as little stuff to be used in it as possible, due regard being had to what is necessary.

12. The coifs must be of coarse linen, not plaited ; the tunics of serge, the sheets also ; the sandals of hemp, and for decency stockings, but of frieze or hempen cloth ; the pillows must be of serge, unless necessity requires it to be otherwise, when they may be made of coarse linen ; there must be no feather beds, but only straw mattresses.

<sup>7</sup> See Rule, §§ 10, 11.



They who are neither strong nor healthy have tried it, and these things can be dispensed with. There are to be no curtains of any kind except in cases of necessity, and then only a matting of rushes or a door-screen, which may be either a blanket of sackcloth or any thing of that kind, but it must be poor. Each nun is to have her own separate cell : there are to be no carpets except in the church, nor cushions to sit upon. All this belongs to the order, and must be observed : it is spoken of thus distinctly because when laxness begins we forget what the order and our obligations demand. There shall be nothing in colours, either in their dress or on their bed, even if only so trifling a thing as a bandage. They are never to use sheepskins, and if any one be unwell she may have a gown of frieze. They must wear their hair close cut, that they may waste no time in dressing it : they must have nothing about them of fine workmanship, but everything must show a disregard of self.

## OF ENCLOSURE

13. No nun may appear unveiled before anyone, except a father or mother or brother or sister, unless it be for some purpose, and then only before persons who edify us rather, and help us in our practices of prayer, for spiritual consolation, not for recreation. A third person must be always present, except when matters relating to the soul are discussed. The key of the grating and of the enclosure door must be kept by the prioress, and whenever the physician or the surgeon, or any other person necessary for the house, or the confessor, comes in, two nuns must always go forward before him ; and when a sick sister makes her confession the nun in attendance must stand out or

the way, yet not out of sight, but she must not speak to the confessor herself unless it be in answer to a question put to her by him. The novices, no less than the professed, may receive visitors, that it may be known if they are at all discontented—for we do not aim at keeping them except with their full consent—and that they may have an opportunity of making known their discontent if they are not perfectly willing to remain.

14. They are to have nothing to say about matters of this world, and they are not to converse about them, unless it be on occasions when they can help those who come to them to speak about them, and establish them in the way of truth, or console them in any of their troubles. If those who visit them aim at no good herein, let them put an end to the conversation at once, as they are directed to do: it being of great importance that they who visit us should derive some good from their visit, without any waste of time, and that we too should have some profit thereby.

15. The nun in waiting must see that this is observed, for she is bound to tell the prioress if it is not, and whenever she does not tell she must undergo the same penance which she has to undergo who has transgressed. Let her have two warnings, and for the third offence let her remain for nine days in the prison, and on the third day submit to the discipline in the refectory, for it is a matter of great concern in religion.

16. Let them avoid all converse with their kindred as much as they can, for their interests will make a great impression on them, and thereby make it difficult for them to refrain from talking about worldly affairs. Let them be very careful in conversing with those who are in the world, though they be their kindred: if they do, it

must be very rarely, and the conversation must be soon ended.

#### OF THE RECEIVING OF NOVICES

17. Great care must be taken that they whom they receive be persons who give themselves to prayer, and aim at all perfection and contempt of the world ; for if they are not detached from the world when they come they will hardly bear with the observances of the house, and it is better to look to this beforehand than to send them away afterwards. They should be healthy, sensible, able to recite the office, and to assist in choir : let no one be allowed to make her profession of whom, during the year of her novitiate, it shall not have been ascertained that she has the temper and the other gifts necessary for the observances of the order : if in any one of these she be found wanting let her not be suffered to make her profession, unless indeed she be a great servant of our Lord and useful in the house, and one of whom we might be assured that she will occasion no disturbance in it, and that it would please our Lord if we yielded to her holy desires. If one in whom these desires are not strong come in, yet whom we feel that our Lord is calling to this state, but who is without the means of giving anything to the house in the way of alms, such an one must not on that account be refused, as we have never done to this day ; but if she has anything to give, and wishes to give it, and if afterwards for some reason or other it is not given, there must be no lawsuit to obtain it, nor must she on that account be refused profession.

18. Great care must be taken that interest has no sway in the matter, lest avarice creep in by degrees, and thereby the alms to be received be more thought of than the

goodness and the fitness of the novice : this must on no account be done, for it would be a great evil : let them always keep the poverty they profess before their eyes, and consider that it is not alms that really uphold the monastery, but rather faith and the practice of perfection : trust in God alone. Let this constitution be well considered, and observed as is fitting, and read to the sisters. When any one is to be accepted it must be with the consent of the greater number in the house ; so also when any one is to make her profession.

19. The lay sisters to be received must be strong, and such as are known to be willing to serve our Lord. Let them remain for a year without wearing the habit, that it may be seen whether they are such as ought to be received, and that they themselves may see whether they can bear the work. They are not to wear a veil over their faces, nor are they to have the black veil, until at the end of two years they shall have been professed, unless their exemplary life should have justified an abbreviation. Let them be treated with all charity and sisterly affection, and furnished with food and raiment like the others.

#### THE HUMBLE OFFICES

20. The first on the list of those who are to sweep the house is to be the mother prioress, that in all things she may give a good example. Let much be made of those who have the charge of the wardrobe and the storeroom. Let them furnish the sisters in all charity with what is required for their subsistence, and with everything else. No more must be done according to the rule for the prioress and the older nuns than for any of the others, but it must be as the necessities and the age of each demand,

and necessity should be regarded rather than age,<sup>3</sup> for very often the older the nun the fewer the wants: great attention should be paid to this in general, because it is necessary for many reasons. Let no sister ever speak of her food, whether she has little or much, whether it be well or ill dressed. Let the prioress or the sister who is over the storeroom take care that they are content with whatever our Lord may supply them, and let that be well prepared, so that they may be satisfied with what He has given them, seeing that they have nothing else.

21. The sisters are bound to make their wants known to the mother prioress, the novices to their mistress, whether of food or of raiment; and if they require anything out of the way, however great their want may be, they must in the first place lay it before our Lord, because nature very often asks for more than we have need of, and Satan from time to time helps it, to make us afraid of penance and fasting.

#### OF THE SICK SISTERS

22. Let the sick sisters be tended with affection, delicacy, and tenderness consistently with our poverty, and let them give thanks to our Lord when they are well provided for; and if they want anything to lighten their pain which the wealthy have in sickness they must not be less cheerful on this account, for they came among us resolved to bear it, for to be poor is to be in want, perhaps in the greatest necessity. The mother prioress must take great care of this, for the nuns who are well must give up what is necessary for themselves before certain delicacies

<sup>3</sup> See Rule, § 8.



should be withheld from the sick. The sick are to be visited by the sisters and consoled ; an infirmarian is to be placed over them, possessed of the strength and the charity requisite for the discharge of her duty ; and the sick sisters must then strive to show the perfection they have gained when in health, by patience and the asking for the fewest things possible ; when the sickness is not great let them be obedient to the infirmarian, that she might profit, and that they may merit, by the illness, and edify the sisters. Let them have the use of linen and be treated with all charity.

23. No task-work must be laid on the sisters, and each should contrive to work, that all may eat. Consider carefully the prescription in the rule,<sup>9</sup> that she who would eat must work, as S. Paul did. If any one of her own will undertake a certain work, and to finish it daily, she may do so, but if the work be not finished no penance is to be given for the failure.

24. Every day, after supper or collation, when the sisters are all together, the nun of the turn shall declare what alms had been received during the day, with the names of the givers, that the sisters may be careful to remember them in their prayers unto God.

25. As for dinner we cannot be regular, because that must be as our Lord gives. When we have anything to eat the meal shall be in winter at eleven, and in summer the signal for it shall be given at ten. Before sitting down to eat, if our Lord inspires a sister to do an act of mortification, let her ask leave, and let not this good practice be lost, out of which some profit is derived ; but it must be quickly done, so that it shall not be in the way of the reading.

<sup>9</sup> See § 13.

26. No sister may eat or drink without leave except at dinner or supper.

27. When they come out from dinner the mother prioress may dispense with silence, that they may talk all together of anything they like ; only it must be about things a good religious may speak of, and let each of them have her distaff and her work. All games are forbidden, for our Lord will enable some of the sisters to amuse the others. Let them be all together at recreation, for that is time well spent.

28. Let them strive not to be wearisome one to another, but their words and their merry sayings must be in discretion. When the hour of recreation is over they may sleep for another hour in summer, and she who does not sleep must keep silence. After compline and collation, in summer and winter, as it is said before, the mother may dispense with silence, and the sisters may speak all together, each, as before, having her own work ; and the length of the recreation shall be at the discretion of the mother prioress.

29. No sister may embrace another or touch her face or her hands. There must be no particular friendships, but all must address themselves to all in general as Jesus Christ commanded His Apostles ; it will be easy for them to do so, because they are so few. Let them earnestly regard their Bridegroom, who for us gave His life. To love one another all alike is a matter of great importance.

30. A sister may not correct another for faults she may see her commit ; if the faults be grave let her remind her of them charitably when they are alone, and if no amendment follow after three admonitions let her speak to the mother prioress. There are correctors of faults who must

look to this : let the others be easy, and bear with what they see ; let them look to their own faults, and meddle not with those which are committed in the discharge of the duties of the house, unless it be something grave, which, as we have just said, they are under obligations to observe. Let them be very careful never to defend themselves when found fault with, unless it be on occasions on which it is necessary, for they will make great progress thereby. The correctors of faults must be very careful to mark what is done amiss, and, by order of the prioress, at times give the correction in public, though it be by the younger to the elder nuns, in order to try their humility ; and therefore let no sister make answer, though she be blameless.

31. No sister may give or receive anything, even from father or mother without leave of the prioress, to whom must be taken whatever is received as alms.

32. Neither the prioress nor any of the sisters may be ever addressed as ‘madam.’

33. The punishment for faults and shortcomings herein—for everything is according to the rule—shall be the penances laid down at the end of these constitutions for the lighter and more grievous faults ; and the mother prioress may dispense, according as she shall judge it to be right to do so, prudently and charitably, and she may not bind them to perform the penance under pain of sin, unless it be in a grave matter.

34. There shall be no adornment of the house, but only of the church, nor shall there be anything costly about it. It shall be made of coarse material, small in size with low rooms—a house to satisfy wants, without anything unnecessary : let it be as strong as it can be made, surrounded by a high wall, and let it have a

field wherein to make hermitages into which the nuns may withdraw for prayer, as our holy fathers used to do.

#### OF THE SICK AND THE DEPARTED

35. The Sacraments must be administered according to the ritual for the dead ; for the funeral rites and the burial vespers are to be said with a *missa cantata*, and if possible let the masses of St. Gregory be said<sup>10</sup> and if that cannot be let the whole convent say the office of the dead. This for the nuns of the house. For the other nuns either the office of the dead or a *missa cantata*. This for the nuns of the primitive rule. For the nuns of the mitigation, the office of the dead once.<sup>11</sup>

#### OF THE SEVERAL DUTIES OF EACH NUN

36. The duty of the mother prioress is, to be very careful that the rule and constitutions be in all things kept, and to watch diligently over the modesty and enclosure of the house ; to see that all the nuns do their duty, and also to provide for their wants, both spiritually and temporally ; to be loved with the love of a mother, in order to be obeyed. The prioress is to appoint a portress and a sacristan, nuns whom she can trust, and whom she may remove whenever she pleases, lest it

<sup>10</sup> That is to say thirty masses distributed over a whole month.

<sup>11</sup> This is another proof of the antiquity of these constitutions, and of their having been received in the monastery of Maria of Jesus as they were given by S. Teresa ; the nuns of that house had nothing to do with the Carmelites of the mitigation, and therefore were under no obligation to pray specially for them. But it was not so with S. Teresa, and with many nuns of S. Joseph's in Avila, and in other foundations of the Saint, who had been once nuns of the monastery of the Incarnation (*De la Fuente*).

should give occasion for making offices perpetual. To the other offices in the house the prioress appoints, but not to that of sub-prioress, who, with the keepers of the keys, is to be elected by the nuns. These must be able to write and to keep accounts, at least two of them.

37. The mother sub-prioress is to have the care of the choir for her charge, to see that the singing and reciting of the divine office is performed with the proper pauses. This must be well looked to. In the absence of the prioress she will take her place, be constantly with the community, correct the faults made in choir and refectory, when the prioress is not present. The keepers of the keys are to render their accounts month by month to the treasurer in the presence of the prioress, who must take their opinion in grave matters, and have a chest with three keys for the deeds and the funds of the convent one of which the prioress is to hold, and the other two the two senior keepers of the keys.

38. The duty of the sacristan is to take care of everything belonging to the church, and to see that all things therein for the service of our Lord are reverently and cleanly kept : she is to see that the nuns go orderly to confession, and that they do not fail to do so, unless they have leave, under pain of grave fault—unless it be that they are going to confession to some one appointed for the purpose.

39. The duty of the treasurer and of the first portress, who are one and the same, is to buy for the house whatever may be necessary for it, if our Lord from time to time supplies the means ; to speak gently to edification at the turn, and charitably regard the necessities of the sisters ; to keep an account in writing of the expenditure and receipts ; when buying anything for the house, not to



bargain, but on being twice told the price to take it or leave it. She is to let no sister go without leave to the grating ; to call the second portress to the turn when she herself has to go to the parlour ; never to tell anyone what goes on there, except the prioress : not to give letters to anybody but to her, who is to read them first ; never to give a message to anybody, nor to send one out, without first telling the prioress of it, under pain of grave fault.

40. The correctors of faults—for theirs is an important office—must be careful to observe the faults committed, and to tell the prioress of them, as before.

41. The mistress of novices must be a nun of great prudence, prayer, and spirituality : she must be careful to read the constitutions to the novices, and teach them all they have to do in the observances of the house, as well as in their mortifications ; and greater stress must be laid on what is inward than on what is outward. She must have from them every day an account of their progress in prayer, and of their meditation on the mystery assigned them, and of the profit they have derived therefrom ; she must teach them how to make use of that profit, and how to demean themselves in times of dryness, and how to go onwards in subduing their own will, even if only in trifles. Let her who is mistress of novices see that she neglects nothing, for her work is to bring up souls in whom our Lord may dwell. Let her treat them tenderly and lovingly, never surprised at their shortcomings, for they must advance step by step, and let her mortify every one of them, according to her judgment of what the spiritual state of each can bear : let her think more of failure in goodness than of severity in penance. Let the prioress give orders

that one of the sisters help her in teaching them to read.

42. Let all the sisters, once in each month, give the prioress an account of their progress in the way of prayer—how our Lord is leading them on—for if they are not on the right road His Majesty will give her light to guide them : the doing of which is an act of humility and a mortification. To produce much fruit, it must be done willingly by her subjects.

43. When the prioress shall see that there is no nun qualified to be mistress of novices she must be mistress herself, and undertake that duty, which is so important and bid one of her sisters help her.

44. When any sister having duties to fulfil shall be hindered from making her prayer during the hour set apart for it let her take another hour during which she shall be less occupied ; that is to say, an hour during which, or during the greater part of which, she may be able to give the time to prayer.

45. Any alms our Lord may give us in money shall be always placed forthwith in the chest of three keys, unless it be a small sum, which the nun who has received it may give to one of the keepers of the keys, and every night before the signal for silence is given she must give a minute account to the prioress, or to the keeper of the keys already mentioned ; and the account given, let the whole of the alms be entered in one sum in the book kept for that end in the convent, that it may be accounted for to the visitor every year.

#### OF FAULTS

46. The chapter of faults is to be held, according to the Rule, once in each week ; the faults of the sisters are

to be corrected with charity. The sisters must always come to the chapter fasting, and then, when the signal is given and the nuns are all assembled in chapter, she whose office is that of reader shall, on a sign from the prioress or the president, read the constitutions and the rule. The reader shall say, *Jube Domine benedicere*, &c. ; she who holds the chapter shall answer, *Regularibus disciplinis nos instituere digneris Magister cælestis* ; and all the nuns, *Amen*. Then let the mother prioress, if it seem good to her to say a few words either as to the reading or on the correction of the sisters, say before beginning *Benedicite*, and the sisters *Dominus*, prostrating themselves, and so remaining till bidden to rise. Then when they have risen, let them return to their places ; the novices and lay sisters are to begin, and then the elder sisters, who are to come two and two into the middle of the chapter-room, and tell their open faults and shortcomings to the president ; first of all, the novices and lay sisters should be dismissed, with those who have neither voice nor seat in the chapter.

47. The sisters may not speak in chapter except to tell their own or a sister's faults simply, or in answer to a question from the president. Let her who accuses another take care she does not speak from mere suspicion. If any one should do so she shall undergo the punishment due to the fault of which she has accused her sister ; so also shall it be done to her who shall accuse another of a fault for which she has already made satisfaction. Lest evil habits or shortcomings should be kept secret, a sister may tell the mother prioress or the visitor what she has seen or heard. She who shall accuse another sister falsely shall be punished in the same way, and be obliged further to make restitution of her

good name to the utmost of her power. The sister accused may not answer unless ordered to do so, and then she must answer humbly *Benedicite* ; if she betrays any impatience in her answer, then let her have a heavier penance, according to the discretion of the president, when she shall have recovered her temper.

48. The sisters must be careful not to make known or reveal, in any way whatever, the deliberations or the secrets of the chapter. No nun may ever make known, by way of murmuring, any corrections or decisions made by the mother in chapter, for thereby disagreements ensue, the peace of the convent is destroyed, and the duties of the elders invaded. Let the mother prioress or the president, with the zeal of charity and the love of justice, and without any dissembling, correct the faults lawfully, and those which shall be clearly discovered or confessed, according to what shall be here laid down. The mother prioress may soften or shorten the penance due to a fault—at least the first, or the second, or the third time committed, if not done maliciously, but if she finds any sister transgressing obstinately or through an evil habit, she must make the appointed penances heavier, and neither forgive nor lessen them without authority from the visitor. Let the nuns who habitually commit the slight faults undergo the penance of the greater faults, and likewise for other faults let the appointed penances be made heavier if<sup>12</sup> they are committed habitually.

When the faults have been heard and corrected let them say the Psalm *Deus misereatur*, according to the ritual, and, the chapter ended, let the president say, *Sit*

<sup>12</sup> In the edition of Don Vicente the text is *si no lo tuvieren de costumbre* (except when committed habitually). The particle *no* is clearly out of place.

*nomen Domini benedictum*, and the sisters answer, *Ex hoc nunc et usque in sæculum*.

## OF SLIGHT FAULTS

49. 1. A slight fault is committed if a sister, on the signal being given, delays to prepare herself with due speed and haste to come to the choir, orderly and composedly, when she ought to do so.
2. If any sister enters the choir after the office is begun, or reads or chants badly, or makes a mistake, and does not at once make an act of humility before all.
3. If any sister through negligence is without her breviary, or the book out of which she is to recite.
4. If any sister shall not be ready with the lesson assigned to her to read at the proper time.
5. If any sister in choir makes another laugh.
6. If any sister makes light of and does not duly observe the prostrations, the bowings, or other ceremonies.
7. If any sister causes any disturbance or noise in choir, or in the dormitory or the cell.
8. If any sister shall come late into the chapter or the refectory, or to her work.
9. If any sister shall be guilty of, or listen to, any idle conversation, or make a disorderly noise.
10. If any sister shall handle carelessly the books or clothing, or anything belonging to the monastery, or shall break or lose anything used in the service of the house.
11. If any sister shall eat or drink without leave from her who has authority to give it.



12. Let the sisters accused of these faults, or who accuse themselves of anything of the kind, have for their penance given them to say a prayer or prayers according to the nature of their fault, or some act of humility, or silence for a specified time for having broken the silence of the order, or abstinence from some kind of food at some meal of the community.

OF GRAVER FAULTS <sup>13</sup>

50. 1. It is a graver fault if a sister shall not have entered the choir when the first Psalm is over, and whenever they come in late they must prostrate themselves, and so remain till the mother prioress bids them rise.
2. If any sister presumes to chant or read in any other than the usual way.
3. If anyone, not attending to the divine office with downcast eyes, shall betray the levity of her spirit.
4. If any one irreverently handles the ornaments of the altar.
5. If any one does not come to the chapter, to her work, or to the sermon, or shall be absent during the common meal.
6. If any one knowingly neglects a general order.
7. If any one is found careless in the office assigned her.
8. If any one speaks in chapter without leave.
9. If any one, being accused, makes a noise during her accusation.

<sup>13</sup> Media culpa—Middling faults.

10. If any one out of revenge presumes to accuse another by whom she herself has been accused the same day.
11. If any one behaves herself disorderly in gait or gesture.
12. If any one swears or talks disorderly, and, what is more serious, if she is in the habit of doing so.
13. If a sister is quarrelsome, or says anything by which her sisters may be offended.
14. If any one on being asked, refuses to forgive another who has offended her.
15. If any one in the offices enters the monastery without leave : of these and the like faults let the correction be made in chapter, one discipline to be ministered by the president or by her whom she may order : she who accused the guilty one is not to minister it, nor may a young nun minister it to the elders.

## OF GRIEVOUS FAULTS

51. 1. It is a grievous fault if a sister disputes with another in an unseemly way.
2. If any one is found repeating or uttering maledictions, or using disorderly language, unbecoming a religious, or angry with any one.
3. If any one forswears herself, or upbraids a sister with any fault previously committed for which she has made satisfaction, or with any natural defects or others of her forefathers.
4. If any one defends her own or another's fault.
5. If any one is found to have deliberately told an untruth falsely.

6. If any one is in the habit of not observing silence.
7. If any one is in the habit of telling what takes place in the world, at her work or anywhere else.
8. If any one, without cause and without leave, breaks the fasts of the order, especially those appointed by the Church.
9. If anyone exchanges cell or habit with another.
10. If any one, during the hours of sleep, or at any other time, enters the cell of another without leave or without pressing necessity.
11. If any one is seen, without special leave from the prioress, at the turn or in the parlour when strangers are by.
12. If a sister shall in anger threaten another sister, or shall raise her hand, or anything else, to strike her, let the penalty of the grievous fault be doubled for her. Those who ask forgiveness for faults of this kind, or who are not accused, shall receive in the chapter a double correction, fast two days on bread and water, and take their meal on one day below all the tables in the sight of the whole community, without a table or the furniture thereof; but those who have been accused<sup>14</sup> shall have one correction in addition and one more day of fasting on bread and water.

#### OF THE MORE GRIEVOUS FAULTS

52. 1. A more grievous fault is, if any one shall dare to dispute in an unmannerly way, or to speak uncivilly to the mother prioress or the president.

<sup>11</sup> That is, those who take the first opportunity of acknowledging and asking forgiveness for their fault are punished less severely than those who wait until they have been publicly accused by another.

2. If any one maliciously strikes her sister, such an one, in the very act, lies under sentence of excommunication, and must be separated from the others.
3. If any one is found sowing discord or misunderstandings between the sisters, or in the habit to slandering or evil-speaking in secret.
4. If any one presumes to speak to strangers without leave from the mother prioress, or without a companion as witness who distinctly hears what is said.

53. If the nuns accused of these or the like faults be found guilty, let them prostrate themselves at once, asking forgiveness, and laying bare their shoulders to receive the sentence due to their deservings ; let the discipline be given them according to the discretion of the mother prioress, and then, when bidden to rise, let them withdraw to the cell assigned them by the mother prioress ; none of the sisters may go near them, or speak to them, or send them anything, that they may see that they are severed from the community, and deprived of the society of the angels. So long as they are in penitence they may not go to communion, nor be appointed to any office, nor be entrusted with any duty, nor bidden to do anything whatsoever : yea, rather they must be deprived of any office they may hold, and in chapter they may neither vote nor sit, unless it be to add to their own penance. They must be the last of all the nuns until they have made full amends. In the refectory they may not sit with the rest, but in the middle of the refectory let them sit, in their mantles ; and let them have bread and water, unless out of compassion the mother prioress order anything else to be given them. Let the mother prioress

deal tenderly with them, and send a sister, if she sees that they humble themselves from their heart, to console them, and to help them in their good resolutions. Nuns thus sorrowing let the whole community in the same way help and be kind to, and let the mother prioress make no objection to their being thus compassioned, sooner or later, more or less, according to the nature of the offence and the necessities of the case.

54. If any sister shall openly rebel against the mother prioress or her superiors, or imagine anything against them which is neither becoming nor lawful, let her do penance over and above that already defined for forty days, be deprived of her vote and seat in chapter, and of any office she may hold ; and let her be punished in the same way if she have done this at the instigation of another, or in virtue of a wicked agreement.

55. Then let them keep the constitutions continually in mind, and that will enable them, by the grace of our Lord, to advance greatly in perfection : let them diligently read them from time to time, and for that end there must be many copies of them in the community, so that every sister may be able, if she wishes it, to take one with her into her cell.

56. As to the discipline, the ritual orders it to be taken when the ferial office is said, and in Lent and in Advent every day on which the ferial office is said. During the rest of the year, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, if on those days the ferial office is said ; but it is to be taken every Friday throughout the year for the increase of the faith, for those who have done us good, for the souls in purgatory, for captives, and for those who are in mortal sin, one *Miserere mei* with the prayers for the Church and the other intentions mentioned ; for those taken in



choir after matins twigs are to be used as the ritual prescribes ; let no one exceed these rules or do any penance whatever without leave : each sister shall take the discipline by herself. Let no one exceed regulations or do any penance whatever without leave.

## APPENDIX I

### PATENT FOR THE FOUNDATION OF TWO CONVENTS OF DISCALCED FRIARS

WE, friar John-Baptist Rubeo, prior-general and humble servant of all the friars and nuns of the Holy Order of our Lady of Mount Carmel, the Mother of God, wish to all who shall read these our letters patent the sweet inspirations of the Holy Ghost.

We declare, as in truth we may, that the zeal for the honour of God and the progress of the friars and nuns of this ancient Order, so dear to the glorious Queen of heaven, unceasingly devoureth us ; that we ever feel the urgings of the spurs of spiritual solicitude ; that we grievously suffer when we fail to behold an abundant harvest in that vineyard planted [by Her] and watered with the tears of Her Divine Son, with the water and blood flowing from the side, even with the Blood of His whole body, and with the bitterness and anguish [of His love]. Our desire is that all the members of this Order were like mirrors, like shining lamps, glowing torches and brilliant stars enlightening and guiding the wanderers in this dark world ; to which end their prayers should be an intimate conversation with God, their meditations should lead to union with Him, and their mind, albeit living in

the flesh, should dwell in heaven, serving the body only through necessity, giving it strength for the accomplishment of a multitude of good works, unfeignedly and free from hypocrisy, never seeking its own advantage with respect to earthly goods or the commodities of life, but [that they should walk] in spirit and in truth, with the prudence of serpents and the simplicity of doves ; that they should be free from everything that might deprive their soul of the candour and purity of an ardent love of God, forgetful of Self, but raised above themselves by raptures both ineffable and indescribable for being above the ordinary way. Sometimes these pass swiftly, at other times they seem to encompass the soul, or again they invest, as it were, one small point of the soul ; now [the soul] seems to take flight, to ascend and to descend, leaving the senses transformed and more exalted than they generally are in this life ; the eyes are filled with tears, and the heart with a sweet dew productive of abundant fruit.

Such being our desire we feel bound to reply favourably to certain requests submitted to us to the effect that we should grant permission for the foundation of some convents of friars of our Order where mass may be celebrated, the Divine office chanted or sung, where at convenient hours prayers and meditations may be held as well as other spiritual exercises performed so as to be in name and in reality houses and convents of Contemplative Carmelites, and where also, when occasion offers itself, help should be given to outsiders, in conformity with our ancient constitutions and such other ordinances as we shall make ; under obedience to the Provincial present and to come.

Therefore, moved by a holy zeal, by the authority of

our office of General, in pursuance of these present letters patent, we grant faculty and power to the Reverend Fathers Master Alonso Gonçalez, provincial of our Order in Castille, and Master Angelus de Salazar, prior of our convent of Avila, to receive in our name two convents with churches of our profession, under our obedience and of our habit, according to the form which shall be set forth and declared in our acts. In which convents they shall establish priors and friars determined to live under complete Reform, and to advance in the perfection of Religious life in all humility. And that these Religious shall at all times be subject to the province of Castille, and if at any time any of these friars, under pretext of greater perfection, should attempt to withdraw from subjection to the province through the favour of Princes and on the strength of Briefs and other concessions of Rome, We denounce and declare them to be men moved and tempted by an evil spirit, the authors of factions, of quarrels, contentions, ambitions, to the deceit and perdition of their souls, and We, as the spiritual father of this Order (however unworthy) pronounce them and their successors as animated by a spirit of contradiction, discontent, scandal, uncharitableness, disturbers of peace, prevaricators of obedience and of all their vows, until they shall have done penance so that their souls may be saved on the day of the Lord. And in the meanwhile they are to learn how great an evil it is to defame the Order, to set up divisions by separating themselves from their brethren and from due obedience. And this we do because we have no intention to lend our hand to the creation of hellish discords, but rather to further the perfection of Religious life in the Carmelite Order which We wish to commend by saying that it is the most

perfect form of Religious life, as may be seen from its Rule.

And in order that all may be done with due humility and obedience We ordain that no convent shall be founded unless the blessing of the Ordinary [*i.e.* the bishop or the Vicar General] have first been obtained as the holy Council enjoins, and let no one of lesser power than ourselves impede the dispositions of the said two fathers jointly according to the tenor of these present letters patent, under pain of privation of seat and voice [in chapter], and of exile from our province of Castille.

In token of this our will we have ordered these present letters patent to be written and to be signed with our sign manual and to be sealed with the seal of our office.

On the 16th day of August 1567.

The place of issue is not stated but from other letters of the same date it appears that Rubeo was then at Barcelona.

## APPENDIX II

RULE and Constitutions for the Discalced Friars of the Order of our Lady of Mount Carmel, of the Primitive Rule unrelaxed, observed in this kingdom of Castille, given by our most reverend father, Fray John-Baptist Rubeo of Ravenna, general of the said order.

### THE ORDER TO BE OBSERVED IN SPIRITUALS

I. Let matins always be said at midnight and be followed by an hour's mental prayer, after which the bell-ringer of the preceding week shall give the sign to retire. In summer the friars shall rise at five, and continue in

prayer till six ; in winter at six, and continue in prayer till seven. After meditation Prime and Terce shall be recited. In summer they ring for mass at eight, and all the year Sext shall be said before mass ; in winter they ring at nine, and after mass they say None, but in summer None shall be said at one o'clock.

2. Every day high mass shall be sung at which all the religious shall officiate in turn ; the Hours shall be said in monotone, the voices even, except on Sundays and feasts. Let everyone be careful never to be absent from choir for light cause ; when the Hours have been said let them go at once to their work.

#### ON COMMUNION

3. Let the priests go to confession *ter in hebdomada ad minus*, and the brothers who are not priests shall go to confession and communion on all Sundays and feasts of our Lord and on feasts of our Lady and of the saints of the Order, according to the advice of their spiritual father. The brothers, priests as well as those as are not priests, shall prepare themselves for Communion, and afterwards shall remain at least a quarter of an hour giving thanks to the Lord *pro beneficio suscepto et pro conservatione gratiarum*.

4. Shortly before dinner signal shall be made for the examination of conscience, touching what they have been doing that day, and the gravest fault they may discover let them try to correct, and say one *Pater noster* to obtain grace from God to that end. This examination shall be held in the refectory or in the oratory after the dinner bell has been rung.

5. At two o'clock vespers are to be said all the year



round, unless it be Lent when they are to be said at eleven : at the end of vespers, when said at two o'clock, let there be spiritual reading for an hour ; and when vespers are said at eleven the spiritual reading is to be at the aforesaid hour ; that time, however, may be devoted to prayer according to each one's devotion.

6. Compline, in summer, is to be said at six o'clock, in winter at five. At eight, both in summer and winter let the signal be given for silence, which must be kept strictly till after Prime of the following day ; great care must be bestowed on this point, and no one may enter the cell of another at any time ; at all other times no brother may speak to another without leave, except those who are in office, and then only when necessary. Such permission may be granted by the father prior when he thinks it will serve to quicken more and more the love of the Lord, or if anyone is in need of consolation or suffers from temptation. The prohibition does not extend to a word, a question or an answer, for so much may be done without leave.

7. Compline being finished let them kneel down while one of the brothers is reading aloud, so that all may hear him, the point on which they are to meditate or which they should consider during the hour of mental prayer. The reading finished let them pray for an hour.

8. Let the father prior see that they have good books, particularly those of the Carthusians, *Contemptus mundi*,<sup>1</sup> the *Oratory of Religious*, Fray Peter of Alcantara, Fray Luis

<sup>1</sup> *Contemptus mundi*, i.e. the Imitation. Note the plural *Los Cartuxanos* which evidently refers to other works besides the *Life of Christ* by Ludolf of Saxony which S. Teresa calls *El Cartujano*. *The Oratory of Religious* was written by Antonio Guevara.

de Granada ; for this nourishment is in part as necessary for the soul as food is for the body.

9. The whole time they are not present with the community or discharging the duties of their office, they must remain either in their cells or in the hermitage which the father prior shall have assigned them as the place of their retreat, doing some fitting work there, fulfilling what the Rule prescribes concerning solitude that every brother shall be alone in his cell. When necessary the father prior may give permission to a brother to enter the cell or hermitage of another, but they must always speak in a low voice. Let no brother call another 'Your Paternity,' but 'Your Reverence,' nor 'You,' unless he be a priest ; they should address each other 'Your Charity,' and be very polite to each other. No one is to be called 'Master' or '*Presentado*' even if he bear that title ; dropping the family names let them adopt the names of those saints to whom they have special devotion.

#### ON TEMPORALS

10. They must always live on alms, having no revenues whatever ; and so long as they can bear it there must be no begging ; great must be their need before they take that step, rather let them provide for themselves by the work of their hands, as S. Paul did, for our Lord will furnish them with what is necessary, if they do not ask for more, and are satisfied without comforts ; He will not fail them, and they will be able to support life ; if they labour with all their might to please our Lord His Majesty will take care that they shall want nothing.

11. Let the prior be most careful that they learn how to work and are occupied in such labour as is fitting and good for Religious<sup>2</sup>, and are never idle so that the devil may never find them off their guard, and that they may gain their bread, each one for the others, and what they earn let them spend it in buying fish or sardines, and other things lawful to eat, and let them accept what shall be given in payment without haggling over it. They shall strive to make as little noise as possible when at work. Let the father prior appoint one of the brothers to distribute to the others all that is necessary to them, to whom also shall be handed what they have gained by their work, and if anyone be careless, and the father prior so order it, let him do some penance at the time of the repast in presence of all.

12. The friars may not have anything as their own in any way whatever, nor is that ever to be allowed them, either for their food or their clothing ; they may not have a chest or box or drawer or cupboard, unless they have some office in the community ; everything must be in common ; this is of great importance, for it is by little things the devil is enabled to enter and destroy the perfection of poverty ; the father prior therefore, must be very careful should he notice a religious to be attached to anything, whether it be a book or cell or anything else, to take it away from him.

#### ON FASTING AND ABSTINENCE FROM FLESHMEAT

13. They must keep a fast from the Exaltation of the Cross in September till Easter day, Sundays excepted.

<sup>2</sup> In marg. : *studentes non occupentur.*

They are never to eat meat<sup>3</sup> except in case of illness, as the rule enjoins.

14. The habit is to be of serge or frieze, black and undyed and as little stuff as possible is to be used in it, the sleeves narrow, not wider at the wrists than at the shoulder ; (the habit) not longer at the back than in front, and without pleats, and reaching to the feet<sup>4</sup> ; the scapular is to be made of the same stuff, but shorter than the habit by four inches, the mantle of the same stuff, but somewhat shorter than the scapular, and as little stuff to be used in it as possible, due regard being had to what is necessary. The tunics to be worn over the skin are to be of serge, the underclothing of rough material. They are to go bare-footed except in cold places where they may wear sandals or wooden clogs. Necessity should always be studied.

15. Let them sleep on beds with straw mattresses, without pillows, the sheets to be of serge ; there must be no curtains of any kind, unless in case of necessity, a matting of rushes or a door-screen of sack-cloth ; let it all be poor and without study of comfort.

#### OF ENCLOSURE

16. Let them speak to no one except father or brother or mother, or with persons from whom some good result may be expected and who edify them by their words, but not for the sake of human recreation, but for the affairs of their souls. Let them never speak with any woman, whether in the porter's lodge or in the church except when hearing their confessions and with leave from the father prior.

<sup>3</sup> Marg. : *Videatur regula : nam supra mare, etc.*

<sup>4</sup> Marg. : *Sic fiant ista quod non sint derisioni.*

Let no woman of whatsoever estate enter the enclosure of the monastery for any reason whatsoever ; but if one come to the porter's lodge to treat with any of the friars let the porter be present, and if they continue too long let him tell them to be brief and have done.

17. No religious is to go out to visit anyone, but let them always remain in their retreat, unless it be a preacher who may go out to preach in the villages, or a confessor to hear the confession of a sick person and minister consolation ; neither shall the preacher go to the house of any person for his repast, unless it were that of his brother, but if he is not too far let him return to the monastery for his meals ; and if some sick person should wish the said father to hear his confession and to console him, he may go to his house without further permission from the father prior. Let no religious eat out of the convent or mix himself up in worldly matters. Let them strive to derive some spiritual gain from their conversations with seculars, and see that the latter, too, find some, without any loss of time.

#### ON THE RECEIVING OF NOVICES

18. Great care must be taken that they whom they receive be persons who give themselves to prayer and aim at all perfection and contempt of the world ; for if they are not detached from the world when they come they will hardly bear with the observances of the house, and it is better to look to this beforehand than to send them away afterwards. They should be healthy, sensible, and able to carry out what is commanded them. Let no one be received unless he knows the grammar, and when it is proposed to receive someone the religious shall be asked



to give secret votes. Let them accept nothing from his parents, for if they had to send him away it might perhaps be difficult to return to him what he had brought, as it may have been spent.

19. The porter should accept nothing without having first obtained leave from the father prior, nor shall any religious without similar permission beg of any person were it even his own father or mother.

20. Every day after collation or supper the porter shall rise and tell the whole community what alms have been received that day and from whom, in order that it may be known who has given us alms on that day, so that they may pray to the Lord for him, and every day both after dinner and after collation let them recite a responsory for his deceased friends.

21. In each village they should have a secular person to collect the alms given by devout persons for the religious so that they may be brought to the monastery, and no brother is to leave the monastery in order to fetch them. They may, however, keep at the monastery a laybrother who may go out to do commissions ; he will then wear a habit of black serge.

22. Each week one of the religious shall be appointed, who shall be called zelator, whose office and duty it is to notice the faults he may observe in his brethren, and each evening after collation when the alms received that day have been recited he shall say *Benedicite*, after which he shall begin to make known the faults he has seen in each, beginning by the seniors and proceeding to the youngest, and any religious named shall kneel down and listen to the correction of the faults committed without excusing himself or saying a single word except in very grave matters and with permission of the superior. But he

shall simply say : ' I will amend myself ', and whenever anyone is reprehended he must kneel down, so as to become accustomed to humbling himself.

#### ON THE HUMBLE OFFICES

23. The first on the list of those who are to sweep the house is to be the father prior, that in all things he may give a good example, and he shall likewise be the first to fulfil the humble offices. Those who have the charge of the wardrobe and the storeroom shall furnish the brethren in all charity with what is required for their subsistence, and with everything else. No more must be done according to the rule for the father prior and the older friars than for any of the others,<sup>5</sup> but it must be as the necessities and the age of each demand, and necessity should be regarded rather than age, for sometimes the older the religious the fewer the wants ; great attention should be paid to this in general, because it is necessary for many reasons. Let no brother ever speak of his food, whether he has little or much, whether it be well or ill dressed. Let the prior or the one who is over the storeroom take care that it be well prepared so that they may be satisfied with what is there given them seeing that they have nothing else.

24. The brothers are bound to make their wants known to the father prior,<sup>6</sup> the novices to their master, whether of raiment or food, and if they require anything out of the

<sup>5</sup> The original has *las*, in the feminine gender.

<sup>6</sup> The original had first *a la madre* which was afterwards changed into *al padre*. From this as well as from the fact that these constitutions are to a large extent a literal extract from those given by S. Teresa to the nuns it is clear that Rubeo had the latter before him when he drew up these. It also shows that he fully approved S. Teresa's constitutions and invested them with his own authority.

way which cannot be given them let them praise God for it, for they have come here to do penance.

## OF THE SICK BROTHERS

25. Let the sick brothers be tended with affection, charity and delicacy, consistently with our poverty, and let them give thanks to our Lord when they are well provided for, and if they want anything let them have patience and not fret because they do not have what the rich have at the moment of their need. The father prior must take care that the healthy rather than the sick<sup>7</sup> be without necessities. The sick are to be visited by the religious. An infirmarian is to be placed over them possessed of the charity and ability requisite for the discharge of his duty. And the sick brothers must then strive to show the perfection they have gained when in health, by patience and by giving the least trouble they can ; let them be always obedient to the infirmarian, and they both will derive benefit from the sickness. Let them have good beds with pillows and linen sheets, and linen shirts may be served out to them. They may also go out to take the air and may eat meat, and all the comfort to be had is to be given them.

26. When a religious has to go out let him take no money with him but rather ask for alms ; neither shall he ride on horseback except in case of illness when he may ride a horse or a he-mule, but not a she-mule which is contrary to the rule.<sup>8</sup> As for the dinner hour that

<sup>7</sup> Originally *las sanas* and *las enfermas*, which was corrected into *los sanos* and *los enfermos*.

<sup>8</sup> The rule says *asinos sive mulos*. In a bull of Gregory IX of 6th April 1229 the hermits of Mount Carmel are forbidden various kinds of property '*præter asinos masculos*' (Bullar. Carmel. 1, 4).

cannot be regular, because that must be as our Lord gives ; when they have anything to eat the meal shall be in winter at eleven and in summer at ten. Before sitting down to eat, if our Lord inspires a brother to do an act of mortification, let him ask leave, and let not this good practice be lost, out of which some profit is derived ; but it must be quickly done, so that it shall not interfere with the reading.

27. No brother may eat or drink without leave except at dinner or supper.

28. When they come out from dinner and collation the father prior<sup>9</sup> may dispense with silence that they may talk together of anything they like ; only it must be about things a good religious may speak of.

29. Let them strive not to be wearisome one to another, nor shall there be particular friendships, but let them all love each other in general as Christ commanded his apostles.

30. No one may publicly correct another for faults he may see him commit ; if the faults be grave let him remind the other of them charitably when they are alone, and if no amendment follow after three admonitions let him speak to the father prior. There are zelators whose duty it is to notice faults and to make known what they have seen, but let them mind their own and meddle not with those which are committed in the discharge of the duties of the house, unless it be something grave which they are under obligation to observe. Let them be very careful never to defend themselves when found fault with, unless it be in grave matters, for they will make great profit thereby. The father prior should nominate another zelator secretly to tell him the faults com-

<sup>9</sup> Originally *la madre* which was changed into *el padre prior*.

mitted in the house which may have escaped the public zelator.

31. The punishment of the faults and failings committed in regard to the things mentioned shall be in conformity with our rule, namely the penalties detailed in our holy constitutions for greater and minor faults.

32. In all that has been said the father prior may dispense as far as is right, with discretion and charity, as it does not oblige under the penalty of sin, but only under bodily penance.<sup>10</sup>

33. The monastery should never be of costly workmanship, except the church, nor should there be anything elaborate. The woodwork shall be rough, just as it leaves the timberyard ; the house small, the rooms low, so as to answer to necessity, and nothing superfluous, but everything as solid as it can be made ; the enclosure wall high. They may have a field wherein to construct hermitages in which to retire for prayer conformably to the custom of our holy fathers.

34. In our constitutions, to which we hereby refer, is said what each one must do for the discharge of his various duties ; what has been laid down above refers to the employment of time.

Given by our most Reverend Father fray John Baptist Rubeo, General of the whole Order of our Lady of Mount Carmel.

<sup>10</sup> The religious vows oblige under mortal sin, the rule under venial sin, and the constitutions under no sin (except under certain circumstances), but under an exterior penalty.



## APPENDIX III

THE General to Fray Alonso Gonçalez, provincial of Castille. Nothing pertaining to our office should be neglected by us, particularly in matters concerning the guardianship and protection of our nuns, to whom it is necessary very frequently to offer consolation and assistance, partly by the sacred ministry of the sacraments, partly by whatever else is conducive to the perfection of the conventual life, so that by means of spiritual exhortations the spiritual wickedness, suggested by the old serpent, may be driven off or at least for a time neutralised. In order that all this may be duly carried out we command you, Reverend Master Alonso Gonçalez, who on account of your merits are the provincial of our province of Castille, to take great care of our nuns professing the primitive rule, both of convents already founded as of others to be founded hereafter ; to watch over them as their superior, and in virtue of these present letters emanating from our generalship to govern, rule, order and direct them, not, indeed, according to your likes and dislikes, not after the lines of the mitigated rule, but as already has been said after the directions of the primitive rule and according to our constitutions which were drawn up in harmony with the said rule. We grant you this faculty and authority not because you are provincial, but inasmuch as you are our own special commissioner chosen and commissioned by us to this end. You shall continue to fill this office and enjoy this authority until we shall make some other

arrangement ; and so long as you are not deprived of it by ourselves, even after the expiration of your provincialship, no one may deprive you thereof. And should anyone, of lesser dignity than ourselves, attempt directly or indirectly to molest you on account of it, we hereby declare him deprived of seat and voice in chapter and altogether unfit for the offices of the Order, and should he not withdraw from his presumption we strike him, as rebel, with the sword of excommunication. We command to all the nuns professing the first rule (as far as they are subject to us) to pay you, in virtue of the Holy Ghost, that obedience which they have solemnly vowed to God and to the Superiors of the Order, from which they cannot withdraw without incurring the judgment of God, and we oblige them to render you such obedience not less promptly than if we ourselves were present.—In testimony whereof, etc.

Given in Rome in our monastery of Santa Maria Traspontina, this 15th day of May 1569.

*Note.*—The provincialship of Fray Alonso Gonçalez expired 23rd September 1570, when Fray Angel de Salazar succeeded him.

## APPENDIX IV

### LETTERS PATENT FOR THE CONTEMPLATIVE CARMELITES OF THE PROVINCE OF CASTILLE<sup>1</sup>

FRIAR John Baptist Rubeo, etc.

We strive to the utmost of our power and exercise all our diligence for the furtherance of peace, tranquillity and a hearty concord among our religious. For wherever

<sup>1</sup> See *Book of Foundations*, ch. xvii. 13, note (16).

there are contentions and strife, there the characteristics of the Church of God are not to be found, but rather the appetites of the flesh and a return to worldly life. Inasmuch as we have learnt that various things are being done which might cause dissensions and quarrels which it is our desire to remove and suppress, we in pursuance of the authority of our office of General by these present letters patent declare and ordain that our friars commonly called the contemplative or Discalced Carmelites, professing the primitive rule under obedience to us, shall in no way and at no time be allowed to receive among themselves and without having first obtained our leave in writing any of the friars of our Order belonging to the provinces of Spain or Portugal. And we most particularly forbid them to receive those of the province of Andalucía who have been subjected by us to penance for being always rebellious and refusing obedience to us, such as friar Master Ambrose de Castro, formerly prior of Valladolid, friars Gaspar Nieto, Melchior Nieto, John de Mora and their accomplices, lest the entire flock of the Contemplatives be corrupted by them. For they have always given way to dissensions and quarrels. As to the Portuguese, provided they be not fugitives, and have received dimissorial letters from their superiors and be determined to remain perpetually we shall not prevent them from being received. But of the friars of the province of Castille let them receive only those who shall have obtained dimissorial letters from the Rev. Father Provincial for the time being; and let not the said provincial be too easy in granting such licence as it would be very imprudent and prejudicial if the convents and churches of our province of Castille remained without the proper number of friars, for the obligations of Divine

service could not be properly fulfilled and the souls of the faithful who had bequeathed legacies to our churches would be deprived of holy mass and other suffrages. Should it happen that any of our friars already received or to be received hereafter on the aforesaid conditions were to relinquish the society of the Contemplatives we hereby declare and pronounce them exiles from all convents of all the Spanish provinces of our order. Moreover, lest peace and obedience be disturbed which should rather be maintained we will that our religious, followers of the primitive rule, without any prejudice whatsoever to the stricter life they have chosen, be bound to obey the Rev. Father provincial for the time being, that they be visited by him, and, if necessary, corrected within their own houses, provided always they be not transferred to other convents of the province, no more than it behoves the friars of the other convents of the province to be sent to those of the Contemplatives. The revv. priors of the Contemplatives together with their *socii* shall have seat and voice, active as well as passive, in the provincial chapters, everything to that effect in our Constitutions remaining in vigour.<sup>2</sup> Nor is it our will that they receive and accept other convents besides those they already have. And the number of religious living in each convent shall not exceed twenty. And we prescribe and command, first, in virtue of holy obedience, secondly, under pain of privation of seat and voice and of all offices during our pleasure, and lastly under the

<sup>2</sup> At the provincial chapter held at Moraleja, 12th May 1576, no Discalced Carmelites were present, as these formed then a province apart (*supra*, ch. xxviii. 1 note), but at that of 15th November 1579 (held in the same place) they were represented, and priors were duly elected for Mancera, Pastrana, Alcalá (Fr. Gratian), Almodovar, Altomira, and La Roda (Antonio of Jesus).

penalty of excommunication *latae sententiae* and suspension from Divine offices, to all our subjects, both of the province and of the Contemplatives that they in no way dare or presume under any pretext whatsoever to contradict or disobey the decrees and ordinations contained and expressed in these letters patent. But should it happen that any of the aforesaid should receive among them Contemplatives they shall be bound under the same penalties and censures, as soon as they have heard this decree, to expel them forthwith. Finally be it known to all that it is necessary, for the province of Castille and the whole order to have a house at Madrid near the court of His sacred and Catholic Majesty King Philip, on account of the affairs which continually arise in our whole order; wherefore, lest our religious to the great scandal of the faithful appear to be moving about and staying out of their monasteries, we have caused such a convent to be built, and it would be wrong under pretext of sanctity and relying on the favour of the rich to leave the establishment of a house belonging to the whole order to the province of Castille, and to reserve it for the use of only a few. We certainly should be unwilling to suffer this.—*Horum omnium, etc.*

Given at Rome in our convent of Santa Maria  
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